



Daily Report

Latin America

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Panama's Endara on Joint Police Drug Task Force
PA2202171093 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA
in Spanish 22 Feb 93 p 1

[Article by Vilma E. Figueroa B.]

[Text] President Guillermo Endara announced that a joint police task force has been organized to collect information on drug trafficking. This task force will work closely with similar groups in the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, and the United States.

Endara said that drugs are doing great harm to the youth and it must be fought. Everyone should form a common front to end this illegal and criminal business, he stated.

The above statements were made by Endara within the framework of the recent summit held in Belize in which Central American presidents participated. This summit concluded with the signing of a final document. Within the termed "Belize Declaration," the area leaders made a commitment to unite and step up efforts in their fight against drugs.

During the summit, the Panamanian president presented documents to his colleagues in which the Panamanian authorities' efforts to combat drug trafficking are highlighted.

Endara added that in Panama there is a law requiring banks to report all transactions over \$10,000 and explained that the National Banking Association is abiding by this law.

President Endara stressed the need for a joint patrol along coast lines and he underlined the importance of the two treaties signed between Panama and the United States.

The first treaty refers to the control of chemical substances used in the cocaine-refining process, and the second provides for rapid inspection of ships with Panamanian flags in international waters when drug trafficking is suspected.

Endara also highlighted the importance of the Mutual Legal Assistance Agreement signed with the United States, which will allow the investigation, pursuit, prosecution, and adoption of measures to end drug trafficking. This agreement was approved by the Panamanian Legislative Assembly although it is still pending approval by the U.S. Senate.

Endara said that he will sign a similar agreement with the United Kingdom and Northern Ireland.

Drug Summit in Belize Issues Declaration

PA2302192693 Tegucigalpa Voz de Honduras Network
in Spanish 2116 GMT 19 Feb 93

[Declaration on drugs issued by Central American officials in Belize on 19 February; monitored in progress]

[Text] ...the Permanent Central American Commission for the Eradication of the Production, Trafficking, Consumption, and Illegal Use of Drugs [CCP] was created in December 1990 [date as received]. This commission has been carrying out a number of activities aimed at reaching its objectives.

5. We agree to sign an agreement creating the CCP, whose creation was approved in principle at the 13th Central American Presidents Summit held in Panama City from 9 to 11 December 1992. We recognize Belize's firm determination, expressed in this meeting, to become a CCP member in the next 90 days. We reiterate our invitation to Mexico to join the CCP. We are hereby instructing the corresponding authorities of the signatory countries so the disbursements agreed upon at the creation of the CCP will be made so the Executive Secretariat can operate. In addition, we hereby urge the international community to support the programs and plans drafted by the CCP Executive Secretariat to combat this scourge.

6. We are convinced the CCP will substantially increase cooperation among the area countries in the struggle against illegal drug production, trafficking, and consumption. This cooperation will take the form of eliminating money laundering, establishing training and mutual legal and judicial assistance, facilitating the exchange of timely information, and developing prevention and educational programs. We agree to ask the CCP to present, no later than six months from now, a regional program with specific plans and to devise a schedule for the steps that must be taken to reach the proposed objectives.

7. We are aware that the multiple aspects of the drug problem must be confronted in a balanced and coordinated manner. The struggle against the illegal production, trafficking, and consumption of drugs, as well as related crimes, such as money laundering and the illegal trade of weapons and chemicals, must be accompanied by equally decisive efforts in creating effective alternatives so drug addiction will be eliminated and drug addicts will be treated.

8. As we are aware that the international community shares the responsibility in the struggle against illegal drug production, consumption, and trafficking, we agree to intensify coordination with the proper regional and international organizations. In particular, we wish to reaffirm the importance of coordinating our efforts with the Inter-American Drug Abuse Control Commission, the UN Program for International Surveillance on Drugs, and the Latin American Institute for Crime Prevention and Treatment of Offenders.

9. Acknowledging that drug traffickers take advantage of defenseless people who are attracted to illegal drug production and trafficking as a way to make a living, we hereby agree to establish programs to create jobs for these people.

10. We admit that, without improving the region's economic conditions, the results of our efforts against drugs can be very limited. Consequently, we reiterate the need to increase international cooperation, which will lay the groundwork for steady growth in our countries, including programs for producing and marketing alternative agricultural products, improving trade terms and investments beneficial for our economies, reducing the foreign debt, and developing other economic and social projects that consider the environment and culture of our people.

11. We wish to underscore the special importance we attach to drug prevention programs and the rehabilitation of drug addicts. We have decided to increase our cooperation in this direction through the establishment of regional prevention and rehabilitation programs, particularly for the healthy development of our youth.

12. We agree to take the necessary measures to strengthen our judicial institutions and cooperation among our countries to ensure those responsible for drug trafficking and related crimes will be taken to court, strictly in accordance with local and international laws for the protection of human rights.

13. A report was presented on the progress of the Mutual Judicial Assistance Treaty proposed by the member countries of the Central American Security Commission and presented for the consideration of nonmember countries. It was urged to continue this process and start consultations so this treaty will be signed soon.

14. We recognize the importance for our region of the UN Convention on Illegal Drug and Psychotropic Substances Trafficking, a convention signed in Vienna on 20

December 1988. We support the principles and objectives of the Inter-American Program Against Illegal Drug Production, Consumption, and Trafficking adopted in Rio de Janeiro in November 1986, and the Ixtapa Declaration and Program of April 1990.

15. We celebrate the reconciliation and reconstruction process taking place in Central America. We reaffirm our conviction that international economic cooperation and support for this process are essential to promote conditions for peace and social stability, and to prevent the scourge of drugs joining political, economic, or social violence.

16. We agree to take the necessary measures to comply with the commitments made in this declaration, including legislative and administrative measures according to the Constitution and bylaws of each country.

17. We agree that the commitments made through this declaration will be complied with according to the principles of self-determination, nonintervention in domestic affairs, juridical equality, and respect for the territorial integrity of each country.

18. The presidents of El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama, as well as the prime minister of Belize, the Costa Rican vice president, the Guatemalan government minister, and the Mexican attorney general who attended the meeting as an observer wish to thank the Belize people and government for the warm hospitality and the climate of peace and friendship, all of which made it possible to conduct honest and constructive debates on this urgent and crucial problem, as well as on regional cooperation in the struggle against drugs.

Cuba

Castro Speaks at Second Havana Elections Meeting

FL2302135093 Havana Tele Rebeide and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0127 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Speech by President Fidel Castro at the second working meeting for the elections, held at the Lazaro Pena Theater in Havana on 20 February—recorded]

[Text] [Castro] Dear comrades: During this week, almost since the start of the week, and because of the things we were seeing about how this contest, this battle, this campaign was going, we reached the conclusion that it would be a good idea to hold a second working meeting to analyze the experiences we had been gaining and so that all of us would have the opportunity to hear the views, opinions, and impressions of many of the comrades who were participating in this struggle.

It is not the same for one to hear things in accumulation, one after another, as if we all met to think about the problem together. To hold this meeting, we needed to use the Karl Marx Theater, since we wanted to invite a larger number of comrades who are participating and whom we have seen at the base level. But the Karl Marx Theater was already booked for the jazz festival, which is an activity that should not and could not be interfered with. Therefore, we had to fit in here, in the Cuban Workers Federation [CTC] theater, our CTC theater, with the same comrades who met the first time and would have participated anyway, and a few hundred more people we had invited. I do not know how they have found room, but I think there was still some room last time; there were 200 or 300 empty seats. So we were able to invite a few more comrades, and they are present here.

You have listened to the many comrades who have spoken. It is a shame we cannot listen to more, but time is pressing. I do not have much to add, as far as impressions, to what they have said. I was trying to remember a little, to recall the last few years which have led us to this time we are experiencing. Everything began with the Fourth Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Congress, with the basic document for the Fourth Congress. The fact is that in a relatively short lapse of time, we announced our congress and held our congress, on the eve of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Events abroad were moving faster and faster. When we were thinking about the Fourth Congress, the problems in the socialist bloc had already begun. While the congress was being held, circumstances were already difficult, and we could see very serious events coming.

In spite of everything, we did not hesitate to hold the congress. We said: Whatever the international circumstances may be, we will hold the congress. At the time there was a great crisis in the USSR, although it had not yet disappeared. It still had a few months to live, or a few weeks to live. We felt there was no hesitation. That congress was very important. I am not going to talk now

about all the issues that were discussed. But one very important issue concerned the elections. Rather, not the elections, but the people's government, improving the people's government, as we called it, what we should do to improve the people's government.

At the congress, we came up with very important definitions, but we also had to modify the Constitution. We also completed the task of modifying the Constitution. We had to draw up the new electoral law. We completed the task of drawing up the new electoral law. We were already in the special period, at a very difficult time. Even so, there was no hesitation in announcing the elections. There were more than enough pretexts and reasons in the conditions of our country, under a double embargo, in a situation which closely resembles a war, and while we were involved in so many activities, so many urgent, pressing, and vital tasks....[rephrases] We did not seek pretexts. We did not accept, shall we say, reasons or even the idea that the elections should be postponed indefinitely until the special period was over.

Anyone could understand how tremendously difficult an election process would be in the midst of a special period. I think one of the most courageous actions the Revolution has taken is holding these elections during the special period. This is something that is also, in my opinion, the right thing to do. Far from regretting having done this, today we are happy we have done it this way. Now we have held the first part of these elections, those of 20 December, in which the district delegates were elected, and in three or four days, we will be in the final phase of this election process, the final and most difficult phase of this election process, which are the direct elections of the provincial delegates and the deputies to the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP]. These delegates and deputies have to do with state government, on the middle and highest levels, since the ANPP in our country is the highest state government body. Fortunately, when we drew up the first Constitution, we did not copy. Rather, we worked out ideas about what elections should be like in our country. It cannot be said that all the merit has come from the Fourth Congress, since we drew up the Constitution....[pauses] in which we copied things, we must say, but concerning the electoral issue—such a key issue as the form in which the people exercise their rights, sovereignty, and power—we developed entirely new forms which were not being applied in the socialist countries. That is how the people's government bodies were formed.

But in the entire process of discussing the basic document of the congress, this issue of the direct election of the ANPP deputies did not appear in the debates. Everyone understood our system was very democratic, in and of itself. At least, it was more democratic than all the others being applied both under socialism and under capitalism, because we had established a key principle that was being expressed in concrete terms for the first time. This is the principle that the people do the nominating and the electing. This took place from the very

start, when the people meeting in assemblies nominated the candidates for district delegates and approved them.

During elections, they were elected by the same people, who chose between several of them, because this selection at the base level could not be done any other way. A minimum of two and a maximum of eight candidates was established. Even then, we were concerned that politicking not occur there at the base level. It was even said that campaigns would not be conducted. Rather, they would be known primarily through the candidates' resumes and the residents' knowledge of the candidates, since these districts covered a limited space, a limited area, of our populace. But it was to be the resumes that defined the voters' conduct. Those delegates—elected directly, nominated by the people and elected by the people—were the ones who in turn elected the provincial assemblies and the ANPP, as I have said other times.

That seemed so reasonable and right that this system was not challenged, and when we talked about improving the people's government system, we talked about other issues. The idea of a direct and secret vote to elect the ANPP is a PCC initiative. It was taken in the preparatory commission for the congress. It was proposed at the congress. This was a courageous, daring, revolutionary step to establish the principle that the people should nominate and elect not only the district delegates but also the delegates to the provincial assemblies and the deputies to the ANPP.

How to do this was an issue that had to be examined and studied, how to do this within our system, how to do this within the concept of a single party, within the ideas and concepts we must defend as one of our country's most important accomplishments. We had to reconcile the concept of a single party with this idea of the people doing the nominating and electing. We had to reconcile it with practice, because what was known in the world when there was not a single party was a multiplicity of parties. Those were the only known procedures for holding elections.

So we had to create something new, and something more just, equitable, democratic, and pure. Our major concern was to preserve the purity of our election process and not to introduce politics. If we had made a mistake in drawing up the methods for carrying out this electoral process, we could have run into serious problems and really corrupted democracy, as it is corrupted almost everywhere in the world. Because now this concept of democracy is penetrating much deeper into our awareness and blood. We can see the abysmal differences between our system and the system being applied in other countries. We have had the opportunity today to hear some opinions about how beneficial and extraordinarily useful and instructive this process has been. This is a great incentive for us, because I think we are really handling in a fortunate and revolutionary way issues that are fundamental to the life of any revolutionary and truly progressive society.

I think these elections have taught our people a great deal about democracy, something that is talked about so much in the world. In these days, we ourselves have been gaining much greater knowledge of the ideas concerning this issue, from what we have seen in the street. We ourselves have been learning a great lesson in democracy. We who thought we knew what we were doing, we who were striving to find the most just, perfect, democratic system possible, have been learning great lessons in democracy. We have been able to make many comparisons, since no one knew what this process was going to be like. It was a new path, a path we had to open up, because ideas in theory are one thing, and the practical application of ideas is another. Since we had never experienced such a process—and it had been experienced nowhere—there was no possible point of comparison. Many comrades have explained here honestly that they did not know what this campaign was going to be like. I would say none of us knew completely what this campaign was going to be like.

We were concerned about certain principles, which were above all that politicking not be introduced into our electoral process, that war, competition, the struggle for votes, demagoguery, the corruption of our cadres, our candidates, hypocrisy, and lies not be introduced. How could we avoid this? We thought we had managed this in the electoral law. That is what explains the difference between the system for electing the district delegates and the system for electing the provincial delegates and the ANPP deputies. To tell the truth, for a long time our concern focused on the election of ANPP deputies. It was precisely when the principle of their direct and secret election was accepted that the decision was also made to apply the same system to the delegates to the provincial assemblies. There were still questions about whether the provincial delegates could be elected indirectly. But we reached the conclusion that we should include them in the same concept as well.

But we did not think as much about that as we thought about the ANPP. That is why these ideas were debated quite a bit at the ANPP meeting to discuss the electoral law. What should we do? How should we do this, choosing between the many alternatives that could arise? How could we avoid division, war, and politicking in our elections? That is how the formula we are applying arose. It was as simple as giving the citizens the right not to one vote but to as many votes as there were candidates. We gave them more votes. We did not give them one vote. They could use that vote however they thought best. They could vote for one, two, all or none of the candidates.

I have repeated this several times, and we must continue to repeat this, and not only so that we will understand it. The better we understand it, the better. But we must also help others understand it. When all the citizens of this country understand it, it will be useful to repeat it so that the citizens of other countries, who are used to other

systems, will understand it. It may be difficult for them to understand our system. Their jaws may drop when we talk to them about it.

Now, the citizens were given as many votes as there were candidates, but a requirement must be established, a harsh, truly difficult requirement. They had to get more than half the valid votes. That is, any of those provincial delegates or deputies had to get more than half the valid votes. I think this really capped, we could say, the democratic nature of our system, when we established this requirement. So we established it. But it had to be tested in practice. [Words indistinct] then, and we must say we discovered new things. I already talked about some of them at the first working meeting. We discovered our populace was used to a different voting system, and abruptly, suddenly, they had to understand the new voting concept, and the reasons for these new concepts, and the values these new concepts were meant to preserve: the cleanness, honesty, and purity of our elections.

How could we meet all these goals? We realized these goals were still not understood. Concerns began to be voiced about the possibility that the voters would vote as they do in the base-level elections, and as a result an enormous number of votes would be wasted. As a result of this, plus the requirement for more than half the votes, many candidates might not be elected. But there was something even more painful. Although it might be painful that many candidate would not be elected—because it would force us to hold further elections, through the procedures established in the Constitution, which give the Council of State more than one option, and anyone could understand that we could not hold elections like these every day—there was something even more painful.

That was the fact that only the most well-known and popular....[pauses] who are certainly the minority among the candidates for the ANPP. They are the minority. I would say that the ones who are known nationally are about 20 percent, the ones we could call popular or very popular, or very well-known, if we do not want to equate the word well-known with popularity. If I am not mistaken, they would be a little more than 20 percent. But we realized many of the extraordinarily talented people in our nation, who had been recognized and nominated, ran the risk of not being elected. They would have to be replaced by others who would surely be less well-known than they were. They might have the same merits, but not more.

We were running the risk of committing a great injustice, which was the impossibility of having wonderful, excellent citizens elected. But this was not only an injustice. There was also the danger that our ANPP would not be representative, that the greatest number of talented people, and if possible the most talented people in the country, would not be present in our ANPP. We realized one of the characteristics of our democracy and our legislature, which no other country has, could be thwarted. That is the fact that almost half the deputies

would be base-level delegates. Many things have become evident in this process, and one of them is this, that we have many things in our system that no other country has. The capitalist countries cannot even dream of this, because a base-level man has no opportunity to be in the legislature, or the senate if they have two chambers. The equivalent of a city councilman, as I have said before, could not be in the legislature. He would have no chance. The mayor of a municipality, the equivalent of our municipal assembly president, would have no opportunity to be in the legislature.

It became evident that in no legislature in the world are there so many base-level people as in our legislature, people who are in direct contact with the masses, direct contact with the people. They are not well-known. Because a district delegate—I repeat once again—is known there in the district. Now the elections were not going to be decided by a few hundred votes. By establishing the requirement of more than half, the elections were going to be decided by thousands of votes, in spite of the fact that we created the districts. Because imagine elections in Santiago de Cuba, with almost 500,000 inhabitants. What would that be like if we had not created the districts?

We had to create districts in the major cities. How could we have held elections in Havana, or Diez de Octubre Municipality with 240,000 or 250,000 inhabitants, if we did not divide it into several districts? But even divided into districts, a candidate has to get a very high number of votes. I was extremely worried about the risk that many of these base-level delegates would not be elected, if that tendency to be selective, that habit of being selective, or that tendency to vote for a person one knows well, or to vote for a neighbor one deals with personally would mean that votes were divided, scattered, and very few base-level delegates were elected.

Some would say: But the resumes are available. I have talked about this before and I will talk about it again. The resumes cannot solve everything, even assuming they were all read and studied. The resumes could not be the same, and when one compares the record of someone who has spent 45 or 50 years with the Revolution with that of a comrade who has spent 3 or 4 years, is only 18 or 19 years old, who is a student who has been outstanding since he was a Pioneer, whose comrades selected him from his merits, who has to be a good student, among other things, because he could not be a cadre in our student organizations if he were not, that young person cannot have the record of a comrade with 30, 40, 50 years in the Revolution. His resume could not be the same.

Our ANPP has to have men with 50, 40, 30, 20, 10, and 5 years of experience so that it can be representative. How could there be an ANPP without representatives of the students, of whom there are millions in this country? How could there be an ANPP without researchers, of whom there are tens of thousands in this country, who are playing a decisive role in this battle, and who have

great talent, although they are not well-known? The innovators are not well-known, and many other candidates for deputies are not well-known. How could we have a truly representative ANPP without them?

How could we decide everything based only on the resumes, and also by being excessively selective, super-demanding, in electing a candidate? I am not going to talk—because I have done so many times—about the excellent selection process. The candidacy commissions are essential, and on the provincial and national levels the candidacy commissions have played the role of the people in the principle of the people doing the nominating and electing. It was not the party. We had previously freed the party from the task of nominating the district delegates and participating in the elections. But the party chaired the candidacy commissions. The principle had been established that the candidacy commissions were made up of the mass organizations and chaired by the party.

This time, we freed the party from that task, which clashed with the principle of mass sovereignty, one of the most sacred principles the party has to defend as society's vanguard. This is not a matter of reducing the party's role at all. On the contrary; it elevates the party's role even more so that it will be society's leader and strategist. But its mission could not be to nominate the candidates. The candidacy commissions would carry out that mission, but this time they would be chaired not by the party but by the CTC, the organization of our workers in a socialist state.

It has become clear that this was a very correct solution. It strengthens the whole idea, the whole concept, of our system, and it facilitates its defense. We can challenge other countries in the world to do what we are doing and to have the mass organizations, chaired by the workers, do the nominating. This cannot be done anywhere else. It was demanded that those commissions do almost perfect work. We have always said we cannot assert that it has been perfect. It is very difficult to do perfect work. They must try to make it perfect. They may make mistakes. A person can even change, in exceptional cases, and be one way today and a different way tomorrow. No one can prevent that.

We did not claim that the work by the candidacy commissions was perfect, but we do assert that they made the greatest effort to do perfect work. That was essential, because it was necessary precisely to find a correct strategy to forestall the dangers we were seeing. It was necessary to have faith in the work of the candidacy commissions. This was essential. Without this, we could not have worked out the correct strategy that we are applying right now. This work will become more and more perfect, because now we have the experience. If 1.5 million consultations were held this time, the next time there may be 3 or 5 million. The next time they may have more time. They may do much better work than they did now.

Problems will be overcome, because many candidates will be better known, because cadres have arisen from that entire pool of candidates for the provincial assemblies. People who will become outstanding will come from those 1,190 delegates to the provincial assemblies—I think that is the number, 1,190. Great knowledge will come from these contacts of the delegates and deputies with the people. Thousands of people will become known, not a few dozen or a few hundred. Because we have to draw the conclusion from this experience that these contacts must be made systematic. Not with the intensity they have today, but we must continue to apply them as a political, revolutionary method and as a practice of constant contact between the country's representatives and the country.

All this will be easier in the future, and the work by the candidacy commissions will be much simpler and easier. The work of the elections will be much simpler, much easier, because I think the millions and millions of explanations we have had to give in these few days will not have to be given in the future. Everyone will know them.

I have repeated ideas and concepts, but I do this for a reason: Because it is very important we understand the strategy. We wanted a correct strategy, and we found the correct strategy with the concept of the united vote. We found the correct strategy when we said the vote should not be divided or scattered, and that negative consequences and injustices could result from the scattering and division of the vote. The need for a united vote. ...[pauses] Sometimes I say a united and concentrated vote, but it is known as a united vote. That word covers the concept we are referring to. This can be expressed in many different ways, but I think that saying a united vote expresses the idea.

We already had the strategy. Very well. I was amazed in Santiago de Cuba that 48 hours after our first working meeting, the majority of people in Santiago de Cuba understood. I was amazed. However, I saw a certain danger. The problem is not that people should vote this way. The problem is that people should internalize, in their awareness, the *raison d'être*, the cause, of this strategy of a united vote. Because if they see it as a matter of discipline, that is not what we wanted. If they see it as accepting a plea or request by the Revolution, that is not what we wanted. We did not want them to do this because they were being asked to in the name of the nation, in the name of the Revolution, to do this because they were being asked to in the name of socialism, to do this as a matter of the desire to win a great victory, or as a simple tactic without meaning.

We wanted—and I think we are on the way to achieving this, and we have to continue to struggle to achieve this, and what we are doing tonight is an effort to achieve this—the idea of a united vote to be not a slogan but rather a revolutionary strategy. We wanted the idea of a united vote not to be seen as an act of discipline but as an act of awareness, that would be understood and seen as

being the most just thing in the world that we could do with our votes, [applause] the most just thing in the world if we wanted a truly representative ANPP, if we wanted the humble citizens of this country to be able to be elected as ANPP deputies or delegates of the provincial assemblies, if we wanted justice, if we wanted equality, and if we wanted our system to be better.

How could we achieve this? Teaching people to vote is one thing. As we have said, it is a technical, juridical thing. You say to the citizens: You have these rights, this many votes. You can do it this way, that way, or some other way. You can vote for one, two, all, or none. That is your right. So teaching people to vote is not a strategy. A united vote is not a technical matter. It is a political matter. It is a strategy. It is the strategy of patriots. It is the strategy of revolutionaries. We needed a strategy, and this began to be seen as a need. At the beginning, it was presented as something dangerous, or it was accompanied by a certain fear. What is the fear, in my opinion? It is the fear that some comrades have that a slogan will be applied as a slogan, [as heard] that something will be demanded as a matter of discipline, the fear of the idea of a straitjacket, of saying to the citizens: You have to vote this way.

This was giving rise to fear of talking about this, when the problem really had to be discussed publicly and clearly, argued from solid foundations, since we have very solid reasons for arguing the idea of a united vote as a revolutionary strategy, as a political strategy, as something that is very moral, as something that is very just, as something that is very legal. Because this is the right we have as revolutionaries to demand or ask something of ourselves, the right we have as patriots to demand or ask something of ourselves, but for a reason, for a profound reason. We must do it this way, and we would feel happier if we did it this way, if no one did this as an act of discipline but rather if everyone who did this did it as an act of awareness. We would be happier if everyone who did this did not do it to comply with a slogan but to comply with a revolutionary strategy, knowing the reason for this strategy, the reason for this awareness.

To illustrate things, I explained to many of the comrades with whom I spoke in these past few days at the public meetings that they should calculate the number of votes a deputy would have to get in a district with 45,000 voters. He would have to get more than 20,000 votes, and getting 20,000 votes is a truly titanic task. It would be a titanic task for the base-level delegates, who are nominated and known in the districts or a somewhat larger area. They are well-known there. Or a people's council president is better known. There is no doubt that the creation of the people's councils was a great step forward by the Revolution, an enormous step forward, a very important step in improving the people's government bodies. Because they are doing wonders, especially in the rest of the country. They can do many more things there than they can in the capital, and in the capital they are doing quite a lot, quite a lot. [repeats himself] [applause]

If it was difficult for one of those base-level delegates, whom we are so proud to have in our ANPP, how much more of a problem would it be for the delegates to the provincial assemblies? Naturally, they are even less well-known, and newer as a rule. How could we demand that a district delegate nominated to be a provincial delegate get 20,000 votes? If everyone puts crosses all down the column, how many ballots would be annulled by mistake? Because many ballots are annulled by mistake. How could we ensure the election of the delegates to the provincial assemblies?

That problem was even more serious, and we realized it. That is why we have insisted more and more on this idea. It is said 99 percent of the citizens understand it, or know how to vote. They are familiar with the system. But there is still 1 percent. We must make them understand. We cannot resign ourselves to having 1 percent that are not familiar with this. But what interests us, with regard to the patriots and revolutionaries, who are the ones who decide and who will decide, is that they should understand this very well, be well aware of this, have internalized this. You know I do not use these words a lot, but I think they are perfectly good for explaining what we mean. They must become aware of how revolutionary, just, legal, moral, and beautiful this idea is. [applause]

Because this is an act of awareness, and that is how we want it to be. Because this is an intelligent strategy of the Revolution and the people. This is a key issue. I think we must continue, and it is now easier to take this concept to the masses. No one can impugn it. No one can challenge it. We have enjoyed listening here to the ideas, the impressions of the comrades who have been waging the battle here in the capital. The battle in the capital has enormous importance, because it is the most difficult.

Conditions will always be the most difficult in the capital. The imperialist enemy has always done his greatest work of undermining, his largest amount of propaganda, in the capital. The enemy has concentrated his efforts and subversive actions in the capital. All kinds of problems have accumulated in the capital, in the capital of our country and in any capital, especially when massive migration occurs. There have been countries that have legally banned migration. We have never wanted to use those procedures. We have preferred the idea and concept of developing the rest of the country, as we have done.

But in spite of this, the capital continues to be very attractive. It continues to be very attractive, and the phenomena of migration continues now in the special period. I am told by the comrades who are candidates for some of those difficult districts that they have met some compatriots from the eastern provinces who have arrived recently, in those districts, where they have put up a roof or something, but they have arrived. They are from different provinces, but especially from the eastern provinces. They come for many reasons. As you know, at one time the inhabitants of the capital did not want to be

construction workers, and the city was filled with construction workers from other provinces, mainly from the eastern provinces. Havana residents needed migrants in order to build, because there were not enough construction workers from Havana. They had many other opportunities.

That is one of the ways. I know about many of the ways that phenomenon has taken place. Even though this occurred in our country to a lesser degree than in any other country, in any case the fact is that a few hundreds of thousands of people have increased the population of the capital, overburdened the services, and worsened demand, especially the demand for housing. I do not say the demand for jobs, because here the Revolution has had to [words indistinct] citizens to ask them if they will do the favor of joining a construction force or a factory. There were job opportunities, but there were some jobs that Havana residents no longer wanted to do.

There are different ways. The defense of our capital also had to be stronger than that of other places in the country, and many compatriots had to come from other provinces to serve in the armed forces. Many stayed here afterwards, because coming to Havana, historically at least—and I say at least because now we are in the special period—has been easy. Returning to one's original province has been much more difficult. Naturally, this worsens our housing problems, our water problems, and our problems with services in the capital. This is the reality.

So there are objective factors and also the enemy's work, the work of imperialism, which is primarily concentrated in the capital. It does this throughout the country. You know they wanted to direct that radio station primarily at the capital. They wanted to direct that television station primarily at the capital. They have always directed their main subversive actions at the capital, knowing the objective problems the capital has. That is why the struggle is harder here, and what the comrades have said about their visits to all those poorer areas in the city is admirable. The attitude with which they were received, the fact that no one asked for anything or brought up personal problems, is admirable, more than admirable, amazing, knowing the needs they have, and we know them.

The comrades who have been in those difficult districts know. Naturally I did not know what a comrade said here, that the counterrevolutionaries were saying that the candidates were not going to go to the difficult districts. I did not know anything about that, and I am happy I did not, because I might have gone to more difficult districts. [applause] I did not know that. It is a matter of mentality, idiosyncrasy, and character, to go to places that are complicated, complex, and difficult. I tried to see in Havana, since I could not go everywhere, what districts had the most problems. I tried to go to those districts, those places, those meetings.

But the comrades have seen much more than I have, and I have been in those districts over the course of the years. I know a lot of their problems. I have visited houses. I have visited those places they call barracks, or what is the other name? Tenement houses. I have visited tenement houses, and I was very aware of the problem of the tenement houses. I know how they live in those tenement houses. Now, the Revolution worked throughout the country. The Revolution worked in all provinces. It transformed entire regions. The capitals of the 14 provinces are not even recognizable today, many of them, with their roads, their buildings, and their facilities. The face of those cities has changed.

The Revolution worked a lot, and it was very right, to develop all the provinces in the country. That was precisely the way to discourage migration. It was not only a matter of justice, but a method to reduce the problems of migration to the capital, which occurs throughout Latin America. We are talking about 2 million inhabitants. There are cities in Latin America that have 20 million inhabitants. An example is Mexico City; it has 20 million inhabitants. Sao Paulo has 16 or 17 million inhabitants, I think. I think Rio de Janeiro has around 10 million inhabitants. Caracas has between 4 and 5 million inhabitants. Bogota has about that many. Lima has about that many. It is a universal phenomenon.

The fact is that in our country, we feel an obligation to give every citizen, all citizens, a pension, a job, education, public health care, recreation, culture, a certain material standard of living. We cannot resign ourselves to the idea that there is a single person living in terrible conditions. That is why the Revolution exists, to help all citizens. We cannot forget anyone. You know how in the capitalist world, as a rule, they forget, and horrifying things happen. We all know about this. There are even death squads that kill children. They not only kill criminals, which is dreadful. Forces are organized, paid by landowners, which have the task of killing criminals, and they kill children 8, 9, and 10 years old, because many of those children have become involved in crime.

So the phenomena that can occur in any capitalist society....[rephrases] If there are people who sleep in doorways, we cannot resign ourselves to seeing anyone sleeping in a doorway. We cannot resign ourselves to seeing anyone homeless in the street, neither in normal times nor in the special period. [applause] We cannot resign ourselves to any of the many horrible things to which the capitalist societies have resigned themselves, especially in the Third World. Because we must not forget that the vast majority of humanity lives in the Third World, and that only a few privileged people live in the developed capitalist societies. They developed at the cost of looting the rest of the world for centuries.

That is why these problems take on great importance for us. Our citizens rightly feel that they should be helped and aided. If they come on their own account, without consulting anyone, and stay, and start to live anywhere, they feel that something should be done for them and

that the problem should be solved for them. The Revolution has tried to solve the problem. It does not forget them.

Because if it is true that the Revolution has done a lot for the rest of the country, the Revolution has never forgotten the capital. The numbers, the figures, the facts, show this. The enormous social and economic development our capital has undergone show this, especially social development, because it already had a certain level of economic development. But our capital has undergone considerable economic development and colossal social development.

Think, for example, of the childcare center before the special period. In only two years, 114 were built in the capital, 114 or 112. I think that two more were built later. There are 114 in the capital, with capacity for more than 200 children, very modern institutions with everything that is needed. The capacity for children in the childcare centers increased by more than 50 percent in only two years. In those years, on the eve of the special period, 20 new polyclinics were built, and all the polyclinics—polyclinics and dental clinics—in the capital were put into suitable facilities.

In those years, 24 special schools were built. All the enrollment—that is, all the demand—for special schools in our capital was covered. No other city in the country has that. Dozens of hospital increased their numbers of beds or were repaired or remodeled. Hundreds of small food markets were built in those years before the special period. Dozens of supermarkets and minimarkets were built. Fifty video halls for the populace's recreation were built. Eighteen centers for physical fitness, or eighteen gymnasiums for physical fitness, were built. More than 1,000 senior citizens' clubs were organized. More than 1,000 aerobics clubs, mainly for young people and students, were organized. Nine completely new bus terminals were built in record time to improve everything to do with urban transportation. Dozens and dozens of bakeries were built with the idea of having bakeries close to the populace, as had been traditional, to replace the large bread factories because of their drawbacks in distributing the product, since people wanted to receive it very fresh.

It would take forever if we were to list the number of things of a social nature that were done between 1986 and 1989 in our capital. I should not forget facilities such as the pediatric cardiovascular surgery centers, completely new pediatric hospitals, intensive care wards in all the pediatric hospitals—this had been done shortly before—young people's computer clubs, the main computer club center, the Expocuba permanent exhibit center, completion of the botanical garden, great progress in building the new zoo. We were even working on the design for the new aquarium. There were new highways; we were building roads of all kinds. A great effort, a special effort, was being made, starting with the creation of the Blas Roca Cervera. There were new sources of water for the city, 30 entirely new brigades to

repair roads, more than 60 brigades to repair water lines, new technology for rebuilding the old pipelines that leaked so much water, reservoirs built to supply water to the city.

In short, a lot of things were done throughout the years for the city. We were thinking, we had drawn up the plans, for new secondary schools, also with semi-boarding plans for working mothers. There were new designs for primary schools in the cities. There was no longer a need for new buildings but rather to improve the conditions in which all the children in the city were studying. These designs were being drawn up. There were sports facilities, 2,420 family doctor's offices, which now care for more than 80 percent of the population, according to figures we received recently, 2,420 family doctor's offices in a few years.

Was the capital being taken care of or not? But the most important thing of all was that we had started to develop the program to solve the housing problem in the capital. In the capital and throughout the country, but we were making a special effort in the capital. The minibrigades had been reborn, and considerable investment was made in hard currency to build factories to make bricks, blocks, tiles, and sanitary fixtures, to expand the cement factories, to expand the steel rod factory at Antillana de Acero, which almost tripled its capacity, to increase the production of sand and stone. But we were not just investing in Havana and Havana City Provinces because, comrades, we had even run out of stone in Havana and Havana City Provinces. It was already running out, and we were putting equipment in the last, relatively small quarries. But we were opening quarries in Pinar del Rio, Matanzas, even in Villa Clara, to transport the stone and sand to Havana by train.

There are new sources of sand from the seashore in northern Pinar del Rio Province, since we could not continue to take sand from the beaches in the north of Havana Province, nor from Varadero. That would be a crime, a great mistake. No responsible government could do that. That is what was done before.

The conditions had been created to build not less than 20,000 new housing units per year. That required electrical wires, aluminum fixtures, wood fixtures, etc., etc., etc. You cannot even imagine what a program to produce the materials needed for 20,000 housing units is like. Do not forget the asbestos-cement, clay, iron, and plastic pipes. The industrial capacity had been created not only to produce the materials for 20,000 housing units but also to repair tens of thousands of housing units every year. We knew that the city needed repairs, above all, and we had the information about the tenement houses and the houses that were falling down in the city.

How much effort was being made, over the course of the years but especially in the years before the special period? Although the minibrigades, as you know, were founded during the seventies, more than 20 years ago,

and they gave a great boost to construction, unfortunately, the movement lost momentum later, for reasons we have explained. But now the social minibrigades were created, and citizens were given jobs building, repairing, or maintaining their houses. We had reached the extreme of saying to a housewife: Look, join this minibrigade and we will pay you to work repairing your house and your neighbors' houses.

Thousands and thousands of housewives joined that movement. We were looking for the work force to build new housing projects and repair the existing houses. We built paint factories, even a white cement factory in Siguaney, so that we would have the cement needed to make the paint for the new buildings, because paint is extremely expensive. We sought solutions of all kinds. But the contingents also arose as a new idea, with tremendous strength. These contingents were initially for construction. The first industrial contingent was created in San Miguel del Padron. It is there, and it has great prestige. It tripled productivity. It is one of the best factories in our city. So not only were investments made, but ideas and programs were worked out.

A group was formed for the strategic guidance of the city's development. As you know very well, in our capital the Revolution did not spend its time building offices and public buildings. The public buildings the Revolution uses after 30 years were almost all built before the Revolution. The Revolution did build many schools of all kinds in the city, and sports facilities, including the sports facilities for the last Pan-American Games, in which for the first time in the history of this hemisphere the feat of a Latin American country winning against the United States was accomplished. [applause]

These facilities are being used. The Revolution did not forget the capital, but it has always been aware of the complexity of the problems in the capital. That is why we said that the battle was more difficult here. I really think that the candidacy commission did an excellent job with the lists of candidates from the capital. They are strong, and no one has shirked their responsibilities. The party has not shirked its responsibilities. They nominated eight Politburo members, and here they are in the capital, in the most difficult place. [applause]

No one has shirked their responsibilities. They have been waging a tremendous battle. At first, we did not know how many days the campaign would last. It was clear to me from the first moments that this campaign would have to last up until 24 February, and be intense. Because of course, some comrades who have important responsibilities had to travel to the eastern provinces or Camaguey. It is not easy for them to spend two whole weeks. We must not forget that this special period....[corrects himself] No, these elections are taking place in the midst of the special period, the sugar harvest, the sugar harvest, [repeats] the cold-season planting—potatoes, vegetables, tubers—the tobacco planting, and many other agricultural activities, plus the tremendous work in

managing the country in the midst of the great tensions arising from the special period.

But we were involved in this battle, and I have no doubt that all the comrades have spent two, three, or four hours on their work every day, if they could, but they spent the rest of the time in the electoral struggle, the battle, especially here in Havana City. They have done the same throughout the country, but I think the greatest effort has been made here. Here was where the greatest effort had to be made. It was clear to me that the comrades were going to be involved in this task up to 24 February. Since I had to be here, and I had already been in Santiago de Cuba, I also wanted to participate in some way in this great battle in the capital. Thus my modest—and I say this sincerely—participation in this campaign. I went to two or three meetings. Others went to five, six, seven, 10 meetings, to two or three meetings every day, two or three different places. But I was aware that the hardest battle was being waged here.

Now, if it is true that the objective and subjective conditions are more difficult in the capital, we also have tremendous patriotic and revolutionary forces in the capital. I do not forget how many Moncada combatants we recruited in the capital of the Republic, in addition to the large group [applause] of comrades from Artemisa. I do not forget that we organized the movement here, and it came to have 1,200 combatants. At Moncada and in Bayamo we used about 160 because we did not have resources or guns. But we had mobilized, organized, and trained 1,200 combatants. Then we did a selection, depending on the guns we had.

I do not forget the workers of the capital, who unanimously responded to the call for a general strike which consolidated our victory on 1 January. [applause] I do not forget the National Revolutionary Militia, made up of tens of thousands of workers from the capital, [applause] and the hundreds of artillery men. When artillery guns began to arrive here, surface guns and anti-aircraft guns, we recruited young people and workers from the capital. I do not forget the thousands of young people from the capital who participated in the literacy campaign. I do not forget that at the Bay of Pigs, the highest number of battalions was from the capital of the Republic. [applause]

I do not forget that before, the capital of the Republic had sent 40,000 armed workers to fight the gangs in the Escambray, 40,000. [applause] I remember this very well, because I visited the place more than once, because I met with almost all of them at ceremonies at which I explained the importance of that task. They surrounded the Escambray everywhere. They divided it up, they split it up, and they put a squadron in each house, at times, when they wanted to clear an entire area of bandits. That happened before the Bay of Pigs, because the enemy's plans, before the clearing of the Escambray, were to land at Trinidad, near the Escambray. They changed their plans when the battalions from the capital cleared the Escambray.

I do not forget the mobilizations of manual cane cutters, of the workers from our capital. [applause] They mobilized even to Camaguey. I do not forget those who are currently mobilized from here. I do not forget those from the capital who joined the Territorial Troops Militia. [applause] I do not forget those from the capital who are building tunnels to defend the nation. [applause] I cannot forget something I had not mentioned: the capital of the October missile crisis. [applause]

I do not forget the capital that organized the first contingents. I do not forget the capital of the mobilizations to agriculture, [applause] the capital that organized dozens of contingents and mobilizations. I do not forget the capital, hundreds of thousands of whose children have participated, contributing with their effort and sweat, in producing food for the city under the difficult conditions of the special period. [applause]

I know there are great revolutionary and patriotic forces in the capital, and that here, even though the conditions may be more difficult, the capital will be equal to the time we are experiencing. [applause] The capital will give the victory to the people's candidates, [applause] however difficult the circumstances may be, and we know them. I spoke before about everything we were doing when the collapse of the socialist bloc and the disappearance of the USSR dealt us such a terrible blow. That blow is felt, it must be felt, and it is felt with great force. You can see how bus trips have been reduced to one third of what they used to be every day, with buses for which we do not receive parts. They also need tires and batteries. They use quite a bit of fuel. Of course, fuel has dealt a terrible blow to many of the activities I spoke about. It has dealt a blow to transportation in the capital and throughout the country.

It has also dealt a blow to the supply of cooking fuel. It has dealt a blow to transportation. The sugar harvest, the sugar harvest [repeats] has suffered. Yes, it has been reported. Recently, I saw it on the television. Different reasons were given but the sugar harvest has also suffered due to the lack of fuel. On some occasions the mills and the combines have been stopped due to the lack of diesel. This has forced us to make an even greater effort and has caused greater difficulties. Fuel has dealt a blow to everything. Likewise, the lack of resources has dealt a blow to the supply of raw materials from abroad. It has also affected essential food staples.

When Cuba suddenly lost 75 percent of its imports, we were forced to reconstruct the country on a new basis under different conditions. Naturally, this is being felt and has to be felt. The whole country has felt it. The capital has also felt it.

If these examples are not enough, I can point out that approximately 800,000 bicycles have been distributed in the capital of the Republic in order to offset the problems with transportation. This figure is much higher than the number distributed in the rest of the country, despite the fact that we have built several bicycle factories in the

rest of the country. Of course, the distances are greater here. In a city with 10,000 inhabitants, or in a city with 100,000 or 200,000 inhabitants, you do not have to walk far to reach specific places. However, in a city with over 2 million inhabitants, when sometimes you have to go from Habana del Este to La Lisa, or from Guanabacoa to Playa or Marianao, or from Arroyo Naranjo to any other municipality, such as Centro Habana, Habana Vieja or Plaza, it is natural that transportation would make life much more complicated here. This is why I had no objections to giving privileges to the capital in order to respond to the tremendous situation brought on by the blow suffered by transportation in the special period as a result of the collapse of the socialist bloc.

[Problems with] fuel halted many of our plans, in the same way that the lack of raw materials halted or considerably reduced production in many factories. Likewise, imported food resources became less accessible and everything—the freight charges, the shipping—became more expensive, as a result of the strengthening of the embargo and the double embargo. What took place following the disappearance of the socialist bloc and the USSR became the equivalent of a double embargo which forced Cuba to seek new markets for its products and receive ridiculously low prices for its exports.

We do not have enough fuel, yet we allocate for fuel the value of almost all the sugar we produce. I can give you one example: With what we spend on fuel every day we could purchase 15,000 tons of grain. These 15,000 tons of grain a day would allow us to distribute—pardon me, but did I say pounds? I said tons?—15,000 tons of grain every day would allow us to distribute 40 kg of grain to every Cuban citizen every month.

As I have mentioned on other occasions, today one ton of sugar buys 1.4 tons of oil. This was not the situation in 1959 or 1960; then we could buy eight tons of oil. However, today oil has a monopoly price. In trading with the USSR we obtained at least seven tons. Today, we trade some sugar for a small amount of oil from the USSR at these ridiculously low prices. Sugar is sold at garbage dump prices, and oil is sold at monopoly prices. These circumstances did not exist when the USSR existed. I am giving you this information to make you aware that, naturally, we are waging the battle in very difficult conditions, but we have the courage to wage it.

I was very impressed by what a comrade said because I also believe this: The masses are aware of what independence is, what the Revolution is, what socialism is, and what the Revolution has done for them. To this we could add so much more that the Revolution wanted to do for the people. Those programs we were talking about were perfectly feasible and we were developing them when our sugar was worth something, when we had enough fuel, when there was no shortage of raw materials, when we received considerable quantities of food, not only for direct human consumption but also for producing

chicken, eggs, milk, beef, etc. Those programs were feasible. They were the result of the desire to struggle and work for the people.

We have worked not just for our people; we were capable not only of receiving but of giving. We were capable not only of receiving help from others but of giving our help to others. That is another Havana which cannot be forgotten, the Havana which contributed so much to civilian and military internationalist missions. [applause]

How many teachers, doctors, nurses, technicians, construction workers, and combatants? These people knew independence, liberty, dignity, equality, and justice. The justice we are now defending so much in these elections. The justice that we apply when we fight so that any honest and honorable man or woman of our people can become a deputy or a delegate. The justice we defend when we see our candidates, who are ordinary people. Our candidates are not millionaires. They are not wealthy. They are not sugar mill owners. They are not landlords. They are not big industrialists or businessmen. Our people can see this when they see all these candidates. Our people cannot say that among them there is an embezzler, a thief, or someone who has become wealthy with the money of the people. What the people see in these candidates who are visiting them is humble, simple, hard-working people. They see them supporting each other as brothers do. This has to be admired.

They know that this is the Revolution. This is the result of the equality of the Revolution, which some time ago brought about the disappearance of every type of discrimination for reasons of race or sex, or poverty, as we have mentioned many times before. The poor were terribly discriminated against in this country. I believe that the comrades have mentioned this here to explain the people's reaction. This is correct. I had reached the same conclusion. When the people have had the privilege of knowing such values, they refuse to live without them. When the people are no longer being exploited or enslaved, they refuse to become slaves again. [applause] The people have understood the battle being waged; they have understood what values are at stake; they have understood the importance of making a show of strength and unity, in order to wage the great struggle of the special period.

We need strength and unity. We have to send this message. What would we be saying to imperialism, to the enemy? If we show ourselves to be weak and divided, they would redouble their efforts to destroy us. We have to make them see that they will not be able to destroy us or will have to physically destroy us if they want to destroy the justice that the Revolution has brought to our nation. [applause]

This has been perfectly understood by the people. This is what in my opinion explains the reactions we have seen everywhere and that you have reported today. As was

said here, we have only three more days. We cannot lose a single minute. We cannot lose a single second. We have three days of campaigning, three days of battle—Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. We do not have a right to rest as long as there is a single vote to be won, as long as there is a single mind to be persuaded, as long as there is a point that needs to be clarified. We have to remain in the front lines to the last minute, to the last second.

This has to be our method. This has to be our style in order to obtain not simply a victory but an energetic and resounding victory, a "Yes for Cuba", for the nation, and the Revolution which will reach every corner of the globe. [applause] I congratulate you, comrades of Havana, for the work you have done. In this meeting, I see in your faces the result of the battle you have waged. If two weeks ago you were what we could call inexperienced soldiers, today you are veterans. [applause]

A united nation is priceless. A combative nation is priceless. A fighting nation is priceless, capable of reaching mind after mind, house after house, as we would have to do if, instead of being in a battle of ideas, we had to defend the sacred soil of the fatherland with guns in hand [applause] to fulfill what Martí...[corrects himself] what Maceo said, which is as important today as when the fatherland was not even independent, when the things that we have to defend today did not exist: the justice, dignity, honor, equality, and brotherhood that we have to defend today. Without having lived the experience of a revolution such as we have, he said very clearly: Whoever attempts to take over Cuba will get only the dust of its bones [as heard] drenched in blood, if he does not perish in the struggle. [applause] Let us say as Maceo did: No one will ever be able to take over Cuba, certainly not this revolutionary Cuba, which on 24 February will render the highest tribute to our national hero Jose Martí. [crowd shouts: Viva free Cuba! Viva!] [applause]

Once, while speaking about our Mambises, our predecessors, we said: Then, we would have been like them. Today, they would have been like us. Therefore, all the generations, united in this beautiful, heroic, and honorable battle we are waging, would say: Socialism or death, fatherland or death, we will win! [applause]

Castro Speaks to Havana Students on Elections

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[Speech by President Fidel Castro to students in Havana on 18 February—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] It was amazing to me to see the revolutionary spirit of that eastern region, those citizens. It made me think a lot. I have tried to reflect this in part in my working meeting with the people in Santiago, because based on the experience of the working meeting on 6 February here at the Cuban Workers Federation headquarters, we decided to hold a working meeting there also. You can see, however, what our

working meetings are like and how little fear we have of showing them publicly. Immediately after the meeting was over, many comrades told us it would be a good thing to make public what we discussed there in the working meeting. We made the decision that it should be made public in its entirety, as we also have made public the working meeting in Santiago de Cuba, and this one also.

Because, I mean, we are doing this so openly that foreign journalists even tried to butt in here in this meeting [laughter] and not with the best intentions of clarifying and helping. We also know how much the mass media are scheming and have schemed. They are in the hands of the imperialist monopolies. We have always known that perfectly well, and we are not afraid of anything. We have never been afraid.

We are waging our battle. What we are following is our tactics, not the enemy's tactics. We speak when we have to speak. We simply explain when we have to explain, because we also have no reason to provide information to the CIA that they do not have and that may be of great interest in conducting their work. On occasions they may even try to draw a political map of the Republic of Cuba to see where to focus their efforts most, in this place or that. They know we have more difficulties in the capital. They know that. They do not even go to the provinces.

Now we are accepting the journalists who want to come and see and participate. They even participate in the vote counts and see things there. They are primarily interested in seeing the null ballots or the blank ballots. They do not think about the fact that 80, 85, or 90 percent voted correctly. They do not think about the fact that this is the country with the highest percentage of true electoral participation, even though voting is not mandatory. But we have extensively publicized these working meetings. We are going to continue this way. We are working this way. I do not like having microphones around. I do not like having cameras around. Those who know me best know that I am allergic to all that, but it is imposed on me. That light has driven me crazy more than once. [laughter] They have put it in front of me and I cannot see anything. It is a hell, a kind of torture chamber where one cannot see anything. So I say: See if you can move that light. When they move it, they point it toward the audience and then the audience cannot see anything, and the hell is for the audience. There are all those problems. But they want to record these meetings, precisely to be able to publicize them. It is not a matter of speaking with 100, 200, 300, or 500 people. There must also be information about what is said for hundreds of thousands of people or millions of people. That is how this electoral battle, this campaign, is being conducted. [passage omitted]

Foreign Journalists Accredited To Cover Elections
FL2302193793 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in
Spanish 1800 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] About 200 foreign journalists have been accredited to cover the elections on 24 February in our country.

Hector Argiles, director of the International Press Center, has informed us that, of that number, about 100 will travel to Cuba expressly to cover the general elections; the rest are professionals accredited in Cuba. He stated that most of the journalists from all parts of the world are already in Cuba and a program has been organized for them that includes lectures on economics, health care, and tourism and visits to different places.

From Latin America, there are journalists from magazines and newspapers in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. CNN of the United States is on the list of participants, along with the BBC of Britain, ZDF of Germany, Spanish television, Global TV of Canada, and NHK and (TVS) of Japan. For the press, there are reporters from Germany, Belgium, Bulgaria, Spain, Finland, France, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, and Japan. A large group of them will travel to the city of Santiago de Cuba, and the rest will follow the progress of the elections from the capital.

Marches, Symbolic Voting Planned for Election Eve
FL2302220693 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in
Spanish 1800 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Hundreds of thousands of young people and just people in general will come together this afternoon at various spots in the different provincial capitals. Then, marching in support of the elections, they will head for squares, parks, and esplanades in those cities. At 1930 [on 24 February], simultaneously and symbolically, they will stamp an "X" within the circle on a giant ballot.

Carrying slogans reading: "A vote for the fatherland, the revolution, and socialism," "All are good" ["valen todos", a play on words involving the name of the popular soap opera "Vale Todo"], and "I myself shall indeed vote for them all," the young people of Cuba and all the other march participants will in this way ratify their decision to be part of a massive turnout tomorrow at the polls to express their patriotic and revolutionary determination to embrace, in an act of conscientiousness, the idea of casting a united vote in favor of all the people's candidates.

A sizable group of the candidates to deputies of the National Assembly and delegates of the provincial assemblies is going to participate in these popular demonstrations called for by the Union of Young Communists [UJC]—mainly candidates from each province's chief town.

The UJC has called on Cuba's young people nationwide to today hold a march to each province's main square in support of the vote for the unity of the Cuban people on 24 February. At the same time, the young people and the population in general will be showing clearly, as of 1800 hours today, eve of the elections, their support for the Cuban electoral process.

In Havana, the march is to start from the place where a very short time ago, artists and the population held the "Valen Todos" festival. The march is to begin at 23d and L Streets in La Rampa and end in front of the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, where the students will mark a giant ballot. This ballot will have only three candidates' names on it: the candidates Fatherland, Revolution, and Socialism.

The march is not only for students. I repeat: The general population may join. The idea is for us to get together today, after the workday is over, in support of what is in the fatherland's interest: a united vote.

Roundup of Politburo Members' Activities 13-22 Feb
FL2302145693

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of fileworthy reports on the activities of members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba carried on Havana radio and television in Spanish between 13 February and 22 February.

A Union of Young Communist-sponsored discussion on society and family has begun at the Antonio Maceo Revolution Square Protocol Hall with Roberto Robaina, Maria de los Angeles Garcia, and Vilma Espin in attendance. [Radio Rebelde 0000 GMT 13 Feb]

Candido Palmero attended a ceremony in Caimito, Havana Province, marking the departure of a Chilean solidarity brigade. [Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks 0100 15 Feb]

Pedro Ross Leal, the secretary general of the Cuban Workers Federation, issued a letter congratulating civil aviation workers in honor of civil aviation workers day. [Radio Rebelde 1000 GMT 15 Feb]

During a visit to Guantanamo, Jose Ramon Machado Ventura, candidate for deputy to the National Assembly for District 1 of Guantanamo City, stressed the importance of achieving the highest quality and participation in the elections to show the strength of the Revolution. Julian Rizo Alvarez visited Holguin and said that the elections would be a new starting point in the victorious path of the fatherland and socialism. Rizo is a candidate for deputy to the National Assembly for District 4 of Holguin City. [Radio Rebelde 0000 GMT 17 Feb]

Caimito Municipality, Havana Province, was the first to cut 1 million arrobas of sugarcane by hand in the current harvest. Pedro Ross and Candido Palmero visited the cane fields to present the award. [Radio Reloj 0200 18 Feb]

To explain recommendations made by Fidel Castro during his recent tour of and check on the progress of the water management complex under construction northwest of the city of Santiago de Cuba, which will bring water from the Carlos Manuel de Cespedes Reservoir to

the city, Esteban Lazo and other government and Communist Party of Cuba officials toured the whole route. [Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision 0100 GMT 18 Feb]

Esteban Lazo, the party first secretary of the Santiago de Cuba Province, and Health Minister Julio Teja presided over a meeting in Santiago de Cuba on health-care services aimed at raising the health level of the general population up to the year 2000. [Radio Rebelde 1000 GMT 19 Feb]

Jorge Lezcano spoke with provincial assembly and ANPP candidates in Marianao municipality. [Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks 0100 GMT 22 Feb]

Roberto Robaina summoned all patriotic Cubans to participate in the elections of 24 February. Robaina said he is convinced that the battle of the elections, the most difficult battle the revolution has ever fought, has been won. [Radio Progreso 1200 GMT 22 Feb]

Commander of the Revolution Ramiro Valdes Menendez and Candido Palmero toured areas of Artemisa Municipality. During a massive ceremony, they reaffirmed that defense is everyone's responsibility. [Radio Rebelde 1255 GMT 22 Feb]

While in Santiago de Cuba, Esteban Lazo stressed the importance of a united vote. It also reported that Ulises Rosales del Toro attended a ceremony at the Jose Marti Military-Technical Institute marking the 98th anniversary of the 1895 independence war. A conference will be held on Marti's thought and cultural activities during the afternoon of 22 February. During a tour of defense zones of San Antonio de los Baños Municipality, Abel Prieto commented on the importance of the elections and a united vote. [Radio Rebelde at 1800 GMT 22 Feb]

During a rally held at the Cuban Workers Federation headquarters, Pedro Ross called on the working class and the populace in general to vote for dignity and decency, thereby defending the accomplishments the revolution has made available for everyone; he added that on 24 February Cubans will have the opportunity to preserve their revolution and show the enemy that they are a united and firm people. [Radio Reloj 2030 GMT 22 Feb]

Brigadier General on Communication Tasks

FL2302220793 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Tomorrow, 24 February is Communications Day. This was also the day Radio Rebelde was created in the Sierra Maestra. On this occasion, Brigadier General Silvano Colas Sanchez, chief of the Ministry of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [Minfar] directorate, made these evaluations to journalist Margarita Torres.

[Begin recording] [Torres] What specific tasks are Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] communication specialists doing?

[Colas] We are involved in carrying out a series of tasks assigned by our FAR minister, which constitute the foundation for our activities during this period: to guarantee combat readiness levels, determine the development that we need to prepare for war, which we foresee, and guarantee very important aspects, such as, self-sufficiency. I am referring to the food program.

In this context, the participation of our soldiers, for us, has played a fundamental role in the forums that the country has had. Our participation, like the rest of the Minfar specialities, has been to search for solutions to problems. We think that this will be the fundamental vehicle that will allow us to maintain what we have achieved. We are talking about a high degree of development, which we think will enable us to maintain those issues that are fundamental for defense.

You could say that in terms of development, we are on par with the most modern technology that the world possesses. An example of this is the relation between man and his training with equipment. We can see it in the battle we are currently and successfully waging against the enemy to neutralize their television aggression. We have been successful, thanks to all the factors that were involved and all those, who contributed in any way, to achieve this victory. As our commander in chief has described it: It was an electronic Bay of Pigs. [end recording]

Dominica

Party Senator To Report Voting Irregularities

FL2302185293 Santo Domingo Radio-Television
Dominicana Radio Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 23
Feb 93

[Text] Jose Gonzalez Sanchez, a Social Christian Reformist Party senator for Baoruco Province, announced that he will report three people to the authorities for claiming between 180 and 200 Haitians each as their children at the civil registry offices in Neiba, Juvilla, Tamayo, and Galvan. Senator Gonzalez said that Adolfo Antonio Sanchez, Caselina Cuevas, and Rayito Ruiz had committed these irregularities to give the Haitians Dominican identification and voting cards.

Gonzalez said that he will report these people to the authorities today. Likewise, Gonzalez asked the Central Electoral Board to investigate registration tables No. 23, 33, 34, 35, 36, 42, and 46, which were installed at the Barahona sugar mill and are where he alleges that the Haitians were registered. Gonzalez said that Ruiz, Cuevas, and Sanchez registered the aforementioned group of Haitians as their children between 1978 and 1986 and this was discovered during the recent process of issuing new identification cards.

Jamaica

JLP Said 'Fully Committed' to Peaceful Election

FL2302184393 Bridgetown CANA in English 1306
GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Feb 22, CANA—The parliamentary opposition Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) is fully committed to a peaceful election campaign, says party leader Edward Seaga.

"The JLP wants a peaceful campaign. Every candidate stands fully committed to the peace accord (signed) in 1989 ... between myself and Michael Manley," Seaga told thousands of cheering supporters at a rally here Sunday [21 February] to launch the party's election campaign.

Prior to the 1989 elections, Seaga and then PNP President Michael Manley signed an accord aimed at minimizing political tribalism and violence.

Seaga's comments came amidst increasing public concern over shooting incidents between rival gangs in a number of inner-city Kingston communities as the political temperature heightens with national elections expected early this year.

The ruling People's National Party (PNP) including Prime Minister P.J. Patterson has also pledged to conduct a non-violent campaign.

But while Seaga said he was looking forward to the election being "free and fair, and free from fear", he also warned that there was likely to be an increase in irregularities as the race would be "very close".

He said he was convinced that as many as 10 constituencies would be decided by a few hundred votes each and "dirty tricks, violence and intimidation" would be used to win those marginal seats.

To avoid this, Seaga said, the police and the Jamaica defence force would have to remain totally impartial, but already he said there were signs to the contrary.

He charged that a known PNP supporter had been elevated to command a special squad to deal with election violence and that the security forces had shown impartiality in dealing with recent violence in incidents in Kingston.

Responding to recent public calls for public debates between the parties, Seaga said there would definitely be "national debates between leaders" prior to the upcoming elections.

"I am anxious for that debate ... As the "conscious leader", I am looking forward to facing the "unconscious leader", said Seaga to loud cheers and laughter from thousands of supporters.

Seaga told his supporters that while the government was planning for an early election, there would have to be a delay until "electoral lists are ready".

He charged that a recent preliminary list released by the electoral office was riddled with errors and would take time to correct.

Seaga Warns Against Divestment Before Election

*FL2302182993 Bridgetown CANA in English 1334
GMT 23 Feb 93*

[Text] Kingston, Jamaica, Feb 22, CANA—Jamaica's parliamentary opposition leader Edward Seaga has warned the Jamaican Government and potential investors against any further deals involving the sale of public assets before general elections widely expected early this year.

Speaking Sunday [21 February] at the presentation of the Jamaica Labour Party's 60 election candidates to thousands of party supporters, Seaga said any investor who rushed in to buy public assets at cheap rates would get "a trailer load of trouble" from a JLP government.

He accused the P.J. Patterson-led People's National Party (PNP) government of being quick to sell assets at below market value and of doing so in "secret deals".

The opposition leader repeated an earlier charge that the government was in the process of finalising a deal involving the sale of the Oceana Hotel on the Kingston waterfront, at 200 million Jamaican dollars below the market value.

The government has denied the charge.

A JLP government would return "transparency" to the divestment process, Seaga said.

El Salvador

President Cristiani Swears In New Ministers

PA2302202193 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] On the afternoon of 22 February, President Alfredo Cristiani swore in new Economy Minister Luis Enrique Cordoba. Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Orlando Valdivieso took the oath of office for the position of deputy interior minister. At the same ceremony, which took place at the Presidential Palace, former Economy Minister Arturo Zablah was sworn in as the new presidential commissioner for international negotiations, a post created recently following the elimination of the Foreign Trade Ministry, which existed during the previous government.

Government Sends Protest Note to Honduras

PA2302235393 San Salvador Radio Farabundo Marti Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] El Salvador sent a protest note to Honduras regarding the militarization of Nahuaterique, one of the areas that became Honduran territory. Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Valdivieso said the militarization and placing of a Honduran flag on Nahuaterique soil is not in keeping with the spirit of the binational commission created by Honduras and El Salvador.

In statements issued last week, the Salvadoran deputy foreign minister expressed hope that the Honduran Government would satisfactorily resolve the situation. Valdivieso said the bilateral commission should resolve the problems of Nahuaterique residents in Morazan Department.

On the same subject, Nahuaterique residents reported over the weekend of 20 February that the Honduran Army was militarizing the area. The source reported that the Honduran Army deployment in Nahuaterique began on 26 January, supposedly to protect Honduran sovereignty. According to the source, Honduran Armed Forces have set up checkpoints at Los Cipreses junction and El Mono and is checking identification papers to restrict the sale of lumber.

The source also added that on 8 February Honduran authorities removed a Salvadoran flag from a school located in El Sencude that signaled possession of our new territory.

Nahuaterique, which is located in Morazan Department, was one area that became part of Honduras following the International Court of Justice ruling at The Hague in September 1992. On that date, Nahuaterique residents demanded that Honduras and El Salvador declare the area a peace zone, which is how it should be.

Guatemala

Government Rules on Public Workers' Right to Strike

PA2302211693 Guatemala City SIGLO VEINTIUNO in Spanish 20 Feb 93 p 5

[Text] The executive branch issued Agreement 596-92 outlining regulations on the right to strike of employees of the government and its decentralized and autonomous institutions. That right can only be exercised by law and it cannot affect essential public services.

The regulations were published on 19 February in DIARIO OFICIAL. The provisions of Congressional Decree No. 71-86, Article 4, Paragraph C (Law on Government Workers' Union Strikes) prohibits public workers to stage any strike should it affect essential public services.

Likewise, in concurrence with the Labor Code, Article 243 (Congress of the Republic's Decree No. 144) states that company or service workers cannot strike when the executive declares that a total or partial suspension of work would seriously affect the national economy.

It also adds that the Guatemalan State is organized to protect individuals and families and it guarantees its residents full exercise of their individual human and social rights established by the Constitution; therefore, they cannot be affected by a government workers' strike.

In light of the above, the state defines essential services guaranteed by the Constitution as: the nation's hospitals and their various departments, schools and institutes, road repair, and telephone, air travel, telegraph, and postal services.

Also included are cemeteries, fire departments, ambulances, immigration and customs services, border posts, ports and airports, urban and suburban public transportation, cargo and passenger transportation by railroad, collection and receipt of fiscal and municipal taxes, civil registry offices, jails, reclusion centers, and the official newspaper.

It also states that the executive, exercising the powers granted by Congress, can extend or reduce the list of basic public services included in the government agreement according to circumstances.

Communications Minister Alvaro Heredia said "government Agreement 596-92 is a mechanism established by the executive so government workers do not commit abuses."

Heredia added: "We must make this clear: The right to strike exists, but problems arise when there are abuses. We have had numerous cases of a person's position being changed or an administrative decision being made, and then they (the workers) resort to forceful measures."

Heredia concluded by saying that the workers use the term permanent assemblies, but it is really the same old thing. That is an example of abuse, but the right to strike can be exercised when there are justified reasons."

State Workers, Students Protest Against Government**Agreement Said Reached**

PA2302223193 Guatemala City Teleonce Television in Spanish 1800 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] The National Police riot squad on 23 February went to the Legislative Palace to safeguard order in view of the rally by municipal and state workers who are not allowing the deputies to leave the assembly building. The riot squad took up strategic positions on the corners near the congress building, while the workers continued their protest shouting slogans against the government.

Groups of students from a business school near the Legislative Palace also joined the demonstrators. The students had taken over the school building on the night of 22 February to protest the lack of teachers, poor services, and the Education Ministry plan to replace their student transportation coupons with a student identification card.

It was also learned that on the morning of 23 February a group of alleged students took over a city bus in Zone 12, near the San Carlos University campus. It is believed this action is linked to the events taking place in downtown Guatemala City.

Tension continued to grow around the Legislative Palace, where several demonstrators demanded respect for labor rights and agreements signed with the government in 1992.

We now bring you a last-minute report. Congress and the National Federation of State Workers Unions, Fenasteg, reached an agreement a few minutes ago for a bonus payable to the municipal workers. This agreement reportedly will allow the deputies who are locked up inside the Legislative Palace to leave the building. The deputies are unable to leave the building because the workers have closed 9th Avenue.

In theory, this agreement should end the strike that the workers began on 22 February. The workers had also asked Congress to prevent the implementation of a government agreement that restricts the right of state workers to strike.

Congress Asked To Act as Mediator

PA2302194493 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1845 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Guatemala City, 23 Feb (ACAN-EFE)—On 23 February hundreds of peasants and government workers occupied the Guatemalan Congress building to exert pressure on deputies to meet their labor demands.

Armando Sanchez, secretary general of the National Federation of State Workers Unions (FENASTEG), said the government workers requested that Congress act as a mediator to resolve the conflicts.

"We asked the deputies to repeal the government agreement that limits the right to strike and to order the extension of subsidies to municipalities," the union leader said.

The union leader, who described the action as "a peaceful takeover of Congress," stressed that deputies will not be allowed to leave the building until the Board of Directors attends to their list of petitions.

On 19 February the Executive Branch issued a decree regulating the right to strike for government employees who render "essential services." The workers described the decision as "unconstitutional."

For this reason the National Federation of Public Employees Unions (FENASEP) presented a writ before the Constitutionality Court because the Constitution recognizes the right to strike.

Regarding the subsidies, the municipal workers have asked the government to reconsider the suspension, a measure that has been in effect since January and prevents the payment of bonuses and salary increases.

The workers' movement was joined by Quetzaltenango peasants who arrived in Guatemala City on 22 February to demand better working conditions.

Carlos Alvarez, secretary general of the Field Workers Central [Central de Trabajadores del Campo], reported that farm owners refuse to pay for holidays and the minimum wage of approximately \$2 a day.

Peasants who have been fired from farms in Quetzaltenango also marched.

FENASTEG and FENASEP, which represent some 165,000 workers, warned the government that if the right to strike agreement is not repealed this week, they will call for a general strike.

Farm Workers March

PA2402044393 Guatemala City Teleonce Television in Spanish 1800 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Members of the Central Organization of Farm Workers [Central de Trabajadores del Campo, CTC] asked the government to intervene to correct irregularities in relations between coffee plantation employers and employees in southern and western Guatemala.

The workers marched to Plaza Mayor, where they delivered a document to Labor Minister Mario Solorzano. The demonstrators denounced alleged violations of their rights by coffee plantation owners who are members of the National Coffee Association [Anacafe] and (Carcor) [expansion unknown].

The workers asked that the labor sector be admitted into the Coffee Policy Council, which comprises Anacafe and the Agriculture, Economy, and Finance Ministries.

They also asked that a commission be created to investigate labor conditions on coffee plantations and to seek solutions to conflicts between employers and employees on four farms in southern Guatemala.

[Begin recording] [unidentified CTC leader] We the plantations workers have constantly denounced violations committed against fellow workers. We have come before the labor minister to demand that he intervene and that labor inspectors in the interior stop playing the coffee plantation owners' corrupt games. We will talk to the labor minister about the case of two inspectors in Coatepeque Municipality, Quezaltenango Department, who signed a document with which they hope to make the Coatepeque judge believe that the coffee plantation owners already paid the workers' benefits. This is an illegal, irresponsible act by the labor inspectors. We hope our demands will prompt the labor minister to take immediate action to prevent these inspectors, who like to play along with the plantation owners, to stop behaving this way. We demand that the labor minister intervene, and we hope the problems faced by the rural workers are resolved soon. Their rights, as confirmed by Decree 68-92, have been constantly violated. We also ask that organized rural workers and other fraternal organizations participate in Coffee Commission activities, because we need to see that the country's laws are observed in the rural areas. I am now handing over the document issued by the CTC to the labor minister.

[Labor Minister Mario Solorzano] We have received the documents they have brought to us. I want to say two important things: I talked with the Guatemalan Agriculture Chamber on 22 February to ask them to meet with you to discuss labor problems in the rural sector. They have agreed to the meeting, and I would like to ask you to form a commission so we can hold the first meeting with the Agriculture Chamber and the Labor Ministry here at 1800 on 23 February. We want to talk about the possibilities of reaching an agreement. [end recording]

URNG Issues Communique on Peace Proposal

PA2302193493 Guatemala City EL GRAFICO in Spanish 21 Feb 93 p 47

[Communique issued by Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, URNG, General Headquarters on 20 February; place not given]

[Text] The nature, origins, and history of our armed conflict require a cautious, serious, and in-depth handling of its complex reality. The emphasis, as well as the fundamental and unquestionable issue, lies in encouraging the political foundations that will lead to the solution of this problem.

The Mexico Agreement negotiated an agenda that, under any circumstances, is unacceptable to avoid, evade, mutilate, or distort. Likewise, the dynamics and procedures of the negotiations were also established in the agreement.

The proposal made by President Jorge Serrano before the United Nations on 19 January introduces elements that alter the previously agreed upon procedures, in addition to incorporating other aspects and mechanisms not included in the Mexico Agreement. As a matter of fact, there is the possibility of entering a new phase in the

negotiation process which, if appropriately conducted and without alteration, could be positive.

In considering that the negotiation process could be entering a new phase, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity [URNG] hereby,

Proposes:

1. An immediate culmination and signing, without any conditions, of the Global Agreement on Human Rights and its immediate implementation, as well as international verification.

2. An immediate agreement on the mechanisms of the unavoidable and essential participation of civilian sectors in the negotiation process.

This would successfully conclude the first phase of the negotiations, opening the door to discussions on the proposals made by President Jorge Serrano before the United Nations, as well as the present URNG proposal related to the continuation of the negotiations by considering the new conditions that have developed with the inclusion of new national and international elements affecting the process.

3. To prepare an agenda that includes the treatment and solution of the main points of the general topics, with verification of its compliance by the National Reconciliation Commission [CNR], the United Nations, the Group of Friends of the Guatemalan peace negotiation process, and representatives of the Guatemalan civilian sector.

4. Once this agenda has been observed, negotiations will then deal with the creation of conditions leading to a cease-fire in the country, the start of the demilitarization process of the Guatemalan society, and the verification solution of the operative points included in the general agenda approved in April 1991 in Mexico. As in the previous point, verification responsibilities will fall on the CNR, the United Nations, the Group of Friends of the Guatemalan peace negotiation process, as well as civilian sector representatives.

5. The United Nations, the CNR, the Group of Friends of the Guatemalan peace negotiation process, and representatives of the civilian sector will verify the compliance of the essential and operative agreements between the government, the Guatemalan Army, and the URNG.

[Signed] URNG General Headquarters.

[Dated] 20 February 1993

Nicaragua

UNO Deputy Cesar Speaks at Rally 21 Feb

PA2302193593 Managua Radio Corporacion in Spanish 2200 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] Alfredo Cesar, UNO [National Opposition Unity] deputy and former National Assembly president, stated during a peaceful rally in Granada on 21 February that

UNO again has taken over the countries' streets and municipalities. He said this measure intends to protest Violeta de Chamorro's cogovernment with the Sandinists.

[Begin Cesar recording] The Sandinists are trembling with fear because UNO is out in the streets. We have taken over the streets, with the same conviction and strength of three years ago, to protest a government program that never materialized. UNO forces are again challenging the Sandinists who again have taken over the government. We are not challenging them for nothing. We are challenging them because they have shown that the only thing they can do is destroy the country. After a bloody and painful decade for the Nicaraguan people, when the country's economic groundwork was destroyed and the country suffered as never before, they should not be allowed to continue influencing the nation's destiny. The Nicaraguan people know they are capable of destroying, never of building. [applause and shouts]

The same reasons that led to the failure of the government of Daniel Ortega have caused the failure of the UNO government, which again has been taken over by the Sandinists. It is no mere chance that three years after the electoral victory of January 1990—the civic miracle the Nicaraguan people made possible—we are again out in the streets witnessing the increase of hunger in Nicaragua, the growth of joblessness, and our lack of progress [words indistinct]. Nicaraguans again are afraid their youths will be recruited [words indistinct]. [end recording]

FPI Announces Creation of Armed Movement

PA2402034893 Managua EL NUEVO DIARIO in Spanish 23 Feb 93 pp 1, 8

[Communique issued by the Leftist Punitive Forces, FPI, in Nicaragua on 15 February]

[Text] Communique to the people of Nicaragua:

On October 12, 1992, our organization, the Leftist Punitive Forces (FPI), came out into the open after two years of hard work in hiding.

Today, on the 59th anniversary of the murder of General Sandino, we announce the Creation of an Armed Movement within the FPI guerrilla forces in the mountains. Just like Sandino, we will fight the enemies of the people to defend the peasants who are massacred by the so-called recontras, murderers of humble families.

In our first actions we engaged in an accelerated process to consolidate in the cities and now in the mountains. We have executed many actions and we will not let up; we will remain ready to fight. We will not allow the Somozists, who are the executioners of the people, to return. Our organization will take care of eliminating them, and it has already started. We have said that we

condemn to death all the politicians who jeopardize the people's food. Scoundrels, who prey on the internal crisis, we reiterate that justice will judge you with a heavy hand. We know very well what political sectors of right-wing, vengeful, criminal, cruel individuals, without care about the people's suffering, are preparing the 28 February movement. This movement pretends to destabilize the nation in its eagerness to reach power. But they are mistaken because we are fighting so that this government can meet its commitments, respect the revolutionary gains, and not implement unjustly its neoliberal policy that brings poverty and pain to our people. Much less will we allow those politicians who are Somozists, criminals, and traitors to return. We do not want the executioners of the people. [sentence as published]

We call on the people not to be manipulated by shameless right-wing politicians. As of now, we announce that we will act against their pretensions, against insidious politicians, their properties and assets.

Our guerrilla forces will be felt in the mountains and our covert combatants in the cities will act without mercy against the instigators who launch their calls for war and disobedience. Let it be known that we condemn them to death.

We are not petty politicians. We do not engage in weak demagoguery and cowardly actions disguised as political prudence, which is what some people do when they speak of our heroes and martyrs and yet are incapable of defending them from the actions of a Somozist dog such as Arnoldo Aleman who is trampling on the memory of our fallen.

If there are no political leaders or Sandinist or revolutionary organizations that are capable of defending the history and memory of the heroic fighters who died for the freedom of Nicaragua, the FPI will indeed take action to prevent the continuation of actions that desecrate the memory of our martyrs. We will not allow the profanation of the memory of those who fought for and died for the revolutionary cause. We will be implacable.

We call on all the fighters, the former military, the Sandinist youth, and on the relatives of those who fell to struggle and defend the honor of our heroes who with their blood won a place in the history of the people of Nicaragua.

We must destroy the false signs and others who seek a return to the Somozism that has caused so much sorrow to the people and who offend the memory of our fallen brethren.

"Inspired in the struggle of Sandino we have taken this step;" we are not terrorists but we will eliminate the executioners of the people.

[Signed] FPI Guerrilla Staff, in the mountains of Nicaragua on 15 February.

"Not even the toughest hide can withstand our sharp machetes."

Argentina

Pinochet Remarks Clarified for Foreign Ministry

PY2302173593 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 2106 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Text] Buenos Aires, 22 February (TELAM)—The Foreign Ministry today expressed "satisfaction" over the contents of an official communique issued by the Chilean Army, which clarifies a statement recently made by its commander in chief, General Augusto Pinochet, about Chilean settlements in the disputed continental glaciers area.

Asked to comment on the communique, which was released this afternoon in Santiago, Deputy Foreign Minister Fernando Petrella said he was very "pleased" with the note clarifying the situation, as it was instrumental in "avoiding confusion that might have triggered off a conflict between our countries."

Several press reports made public over the weekend noted that Pinochet had reportedly said that the presence of Chilean settlers in the continental glaciers areas was a reassertion of Chile's sovereignty in the contested area.

This afternoon, however, the Chilean Army made it clear that Pinochet "did not raise the issue of the settlement of the continental glaciers," as he was only referring to "some families that have settled in lands located near the southern road," which is not part of the area in dispute.

Commenting on the communique, Petrella explained that it is understandable that Pinochet might have been talking about another area, for the region of the continental glaciers stretches for approximately 2,300 square kilometers in the Province of Santa Cruz, and "is an uninhabited area as it lacks the necessary conditions for human life."

Petrella went on to say that the minute Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella learned about Pinochet's alleged statement, he requested that the Argentine Embassy in Santiago send him a transcript of Pinochet's statement and a brief on the context in which these remarks were uttered, so that he could assess them.

Petrella pointed out that the Army communique issued this afternoon "settles the matter fairly and squarely." The whole affair arose from Pinochet's remarks during a news conference he gave after visiting the road works of the southern road at Lake Vargas, located in Chile's 11th Region.

Germany Defense Minister Ruehe Visits

LD2302191893 Hamburg DPA in German 1739 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Buenos Aires (DPA)—Germany and Argentina intend to further expand their military cooperation. This was agreed by Defense Minister Volker Ruehe and his

Argentine counterpart Antonio Erman Gonzalez in Buenos Aires today. In a speech to the Argentine foreign policy forum, Ruehe proposed a joint seminar for armed forces planning. There is also to be an exchange of experiences on arms policy. The Bundeswehr also wants to profit from Argentina's experiences in UN blue helmet operations.

Ruehe arrived in the Argentine capital after a visit to Chile. Argentina is the last stop on his nine-day tour of North and South America. After his talk with Gonzalez, Ruehe also met Foreign Minister Guido Di Tella. A talk with President Carlos Saul Menem is planned for tomorrow.

As in Chile, Ruehe invited officers from all branches of the Argentine Armed Forces to take part in general staff and admiralty staff training in Germany. Cooperation could also be extended to the entire training of officers. Ruehe pointed out that the Argentine Army is in the process of restructuring.

An Argentine battalion of 900 men is stationed in Croatia. In the region monitored by the battalion, it has succeeded in keeping the warring parties apart in spite of the extremely difficult situation. Ruehe urged speedy participation of German units in UN peace-keeping and peace-making operations. The constitutional conditions for this should be created soon. In his speech the minister explained that Germany lacks important skills in preparing military units for international deployment.

On his departure from Chile, President Aylwin strongly praised German-Chilean cooperation. Aylwin stressed the "good friendship" between Chile and Germany. He expressed gratitude for Ruehe's offer to help the Chilean Armed Forces and the Argentine Army to integrate into a democratic society.

Brazil

Ministry Considers Reviving 'Censorship' Council

PY2302134093 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 22 Feb 93 p 3

[Text] Brasilia—The Justice Ministry is considering reestablishing a censorship organ that would appear as a democratic forum: the Superior Council for the Defense of Freedom of Expression and Thought [Conselho Superior de Defesa da Liberdade de Expressao e Pensamento] (Codeliber), which replaced the old Superior Council of Censorship in September 1988 and was deactivated in December 1988.

Despite the fact that Codeliber is descended from a repressive organ of the military dictatorship, Justice Minister Mauricio Correa has emphasized that no censorship will be imposed on the media. He said Codeliber will give society an opportunity to express itself against pornography and obscene television programs.

The minister said: "Codeliber will be an instrument through which society will address radio and television enterprises. Society will thus be able to express its concern about scenes or shows. The Constitution forbids censorship. There will in no way be any kind of censorship."

The last controversial action of Codeliber's "father"—the Superior Council of Censorship—was the banning of the films "Je vous salue Marie" (1986) and "The Last Temptation of Christ" (1988). During Codeliber's two-month life in 1988, the 21 members of the Council decided that song lyrics should not be rated. Today the Justice Ministry's Department of Rating establishes only age limits and time schedules for movies and shows.

To Reorganize Various Councils

PY2302152893 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese
22 Feb 93 p 3

[Text] Brasilia—Justice Minister Mauricio Correa is planning to make a wide reorganization of the councils subordinated to his ministry. Besides the reestablishment of Codeliber [Superior Council for the Defense of Freedom of Expression and Thought], the Human Rights Defense Council (CDDPH) will again be coordinated by the Secretariat for Justice and People's Rights (SNDCJ).

This change prompted the dismissal of CDDPH coordinator Miriam Brea, who had held this post for six years. All the changes in the Justice Ministry councils were promoted by SNDCJ National Secretary Pedro Demos.

Demos said: The CDDPH is the ministry's "master council," and should be urgently reorganized. Demos supports the reestablishment of Codeliber and the creation of new councils aimed at the aged and the handicapped.

Next month President Itamar Franco will sign a decree on the reorganization of the Narcotics Federal Council (Confen), which is also linked to the SNDCJ. The Justice Ministry also expects to create the National Narcotics Secretariat this year. This secretariat will be charged with implementing the drug enforcement policy that will be outlined by Confen. The National Council for Health Assistance Administration (Conanda) will resume its duties in March. The future minister will order the changes within the Women's Council.

Delay Expected With Creditor Banks Agreement

PY2302173393 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese
21 Feb 93 Section 1 p 7

[Article by Regina Alvarez and Silvana Quaglio]

[Text] The agreement with private creditor banks that the government expected to sign in July will not be signed. FOLHA has learned that private creditors prefer to wait for the new round of talks between Brazil and the

IMF (International Monetary Fund) before endorsing the proposal agreed upon with the bank committee in July 1992.

Finance Minister Paulo Haddad believes that the normalization of relations between Brazil and the financial community is a precondition for the implementation of an economic stabilization program.

If 95 percent of the creditors do not endorse the proposal before 15 March, as Haddad expects, the timetable that provides for signing the proposal in July will be jeopardized.

If the banks endorse the proposal, Brazil will pay another installment of overdue interest. The government believes that this payment, which is provided for in the proposal, is an incentive for the banks. Payments have been made since November.

Despite the fact that Brazil has strictly complied with the scheduled payments, bankers would rather have clearer signals of the stabilization of the Brazilian economy. Those signals will depend on the agreement that the Brazilian Government will reach with the IMF. This expectation should delay the signing of an agreement until October or November.

Creditors believe that Brazil can meet the new targets. This could lead to the release of the two portions of the \$2 billion standby loan that the government wants to use as part of the guarantee to be offered to private creditors.

The signing of the agreement may also be delayed by the bankers' option for guaranteed certificates. The government offered to banks six certificate choices, two of them—a par bond, which maintains the debt's nominal value, and a bonus reducing the debt by 35 percent—with guarantees.

Upon signing the agreement, the government will pay \$3.2 billion in guarantees. Yet to prevent this figure from going up, banks should endorse the various rescheduling options in a balanced manner. This message was given to bankers by Economic Policy Secretary Fernando Holanda and by National Treasury Secretary Murilo Portugal, in various meetings with the international community in January.

The Finance Ministry believes that Brazil should not reach the type of agreement reached by Argentina, where 65 percent of the selected certificates were par bonds, and 35 percent were bonds with discounts, something that has increased the cost of rescheduling.

Army Probing Drug Trafficking in Rondonia

PY2302153293 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese
22 Feb 93 p 5

[Text] Rio de Janeiro—The Army is conducting an investigation in Rondonia State that might even involve its Governor Osvaldo Pianna. An Army general stated

yesterday that should Pianna be implicated in irregularities, including drug trafficking, as some Rondonian deputies contend, he would certainly be held accountable for that. Army Spokesman General Gilberto Serra reported that "a colonel might be permanently appointed as commander of the PM [Military Police]." The Army was summoned to intervene in Rondonia PM strife following PM personnel's decision to go out on strike for higher pay. A possible link between policemen and drug trafficking is also under investigation. Rondonia State is one of Brazil's main gateways to drug trafficking.

Editorial Contrasts Clinton, Franco Programs

PY2302133293 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 19 Feb 93 Section 1 p 2

[Editorial: "Clinton and Itamar"]

[Text] To the Brazilian observer, one of the most prominent aspects of Bill Clinton's economic program is the contrast between the measures put forward by the U.S. President and the characteristic vagueness of the Itamar Franco administration.

The proposal submitted to Congress by Clinton is in fact a comprehensive program, which if implemented will no doubt have a lasting effect on the U.S. and world economy.

Clinton's program centers on reducing in the short term both unemployment and the fiscal deficit. The Democratic administration aims at slashing the fiscal deficit from \$332 billion to \$206 billion in 1997. Clinton is of the view that these measures, coupled with others geared to boosting savings and investments, will enable the country to attain a steady growth rate in the medium term.

This proposal constitutes a break with the neoliberal model that characterized the Reagan and Bush administrations, as evidenced by a considerable tax increase of approximately \$246 billion over the next four years. Expenditure cuts are expected to add up to \$256 billion.

There are undoubtedly many controversial points in Clinton's proposal. First, the increase in the tax burden may not be accompanied by the promised cut in expenditures. Second, the country is well on the way to recovery, regardless of the government's intervention, and therefore Clinton's measures to boost demand may turn out to be a risky undertaking. Lastly, it has not dispelled fears about a possible increase in protectionism, something which is of special interest to other countries.

Despite this it is undeniable that unlike what happens in Brazil, the U.S. executive has a plan of action with goals, deadlines, and mechanisms.

It is regrettable that the Brazilian Government limits itself to increasing taxes, which instead of leveling out

distortions in the tax system only makes them more marked. Once again, the Brazilian Government seeks to "share the burden among all," to use Clinton's expression. Instead of implementing a well-rounded program, Itamar Franco is concerned with applying corrective measures that have a great impact on the media, even though they are ineffective in fighting the outrageous situation of dire poverty in which most Brazilians are ensnared.

The contrast between Brazil and the United States reveals Itamar Franco as somebody who limits himself to populist gimmicks for easy gains—which is much less than the minimum required of a statesman in times of crisis.

Colombia

Gaviria Gives Speech on Antiterrorist Measures

PA2302165293 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravisión Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0235 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Speech by President Cesar Gaviria; place not given—live]

[Text] Colombians, I want to talk to you tonight to inform you of the efforts by the national government in such areas as security and justice to ensure citizen tranquillity and safety.

On 22 February the Council of Ministers made important decisions in this area that I want to explain directly to you. Before I get into this matter, however, I would like to once again reiterate my solidarity toward all my fellow Colombians, but especially toward those who have endured the narcoterrorists' recent cruel attacks on Medellin, Barrancabermeja, and Santa Fe de Bogota.

These are not attacks against the government or the Public Force, but against the nation, the peddlers on Santa Fe de Bogota's 16th Street, the mechanics in Barrancabermeja, and the good people of Medellin, who innocently transit streets that have been cruelly and perversely chosen by the narcoterrorists. These attacks constitute a threat to the Colombian people that affect us all and demand our support and solidarity in addition to the government's irrevocable decision to deal with the perpetrators of these crimes.

The individuals who order these cowardly actions must know that their cruelty against Colombia will not change the government's firm position. On the contrary, it strengthens its determination to deal with them, and with whoever believes they can take justice into their own hands, by applying the full force of the law against them. I have said it before and I will repeat it now: violence cannot be defeated with violence, nor terrorism with more terrorism.

Over the past few days we have achieved positive results on all fronts. We have dismantled a considerable part of the self-styled Medellin Cartel criminal apparatus and

we have dealt blows to the guerrilla leadership. These results have shown us for the first time in a long time that it is possible to eradicate violence in Colombia if we invest courage, resources, bravery, determination, discipline and sacrifice.

I am not by any means implying with these words that those difficult and painful days are behind us. The threat persists and it is a definite threat. I must say, however, there are signs that prove that as a nation we are on the right path. We are not alone on this path. The government is not alone, nor are the military forces, police, prosecutors, citizens who have the courage to denounce criminals, or those who suffer the blows of violence. The right path demands the unity of the Colombian people for a common goal and the unity of all in the great effort to achieve the goals we have set: the security our children and new generations of Colombians deserve.

Tonight I want to reaffirm this path. Let there be no doubt that we are on the offensive on all fronts. We are fighting the terrorism of guerrillas and drug traffickers with determination. We are working to strengthen justice and protect judges, to defend citizen rights, and to improve the salaries of Public Force and judicial employees. To do this, the country must know how and where their resources are invested.

The discussion of the modernization of the public administration is not disconnected from this issue. We want to take the state to those sectors where it is truly needed. Thus, the elimination of certain public institutions and the downsizing of governmental bureaucracy in certain areas is very urgent and necessary. This will allow us to release the resources that are being used to strengthen the Public Force, to increase our fighting strength, and for justice, health, housing and education.

What strategy have we employed? First, we have increased the number of men in the military and police forces. Second, we have improved the technical, operational, and combat capabilities of the military and police forces. Third, we have augmented our intelligence systems with modern intelligence-processing resources and mechanisms. Fourth, we have created 22 Anti-Extortion and Kidnapping Units, which have allowed us to deal frontally with one of the most cruel crimes: abduction. Fifth, we have dealt with impunity by decidedly strengthening justice and the Office of the Prosecutor General and by creating mechanisms to report terrorist acts, while broadening our mechanisms of cooperation with justice by reducing the sentences of those who cooperate with the authorities. Sixth, we have adopted measures that reduce the opportunities available to the guerrillas and criminal organizations by attacking their sources of financing and we have called for citizen solidarity, which is the big winner in this historic struggle against violence.

What have we done between 1991 and 1993? We have created the equivalent of 21 counter guerrilla battalions and—listen closely—we have increased our fighting

strength by 8,000 professional policemen, 9,000 high school graduate policemen (*policías bachilleres*) and 17,000 new soldiers, of which 15,000 are specialized, highly motivated, well-trained and well-paid professionals. These figures are impressive.

A few years ago, barely one of every 50 soldiers was a professional. At present, one of every five is a professional. This increase in the number of armed men is accompanied by greater operational efficiency in the Armed Forces. We are spending the money where we should. In addition, we are protecting the areas that are most essential for the country's life. At present, we protect bridges and power pylons, oil production centers, and vulnerable areas of the economic infrastructure. More than 700 places in the national territory are permanently protected. In addition, we have increased tenfold the money allocated to the Public Force for obtaining information. The Administrative Department of Security has been reinforced with additional sums of money. We have created 44 intelligence networks in the military forces, which is three times as many as there were in 1991.

Our successes with the help of the population are evident. May I underscore, however, that most of the information we have received, both on guerrillas and narcoterrorists, has been supplied by persons who asked nothing in return and placed the interest of the majority of the people over their own personal interests. The government has been making a broad effort. For instance, it used to be necessary to stop protecting Arauca to eradicate kidnappings in Cordoba due to the money and personnel shortage. Quite the opposite is true at present, however. We are not disregarding kidnappings to attend to oil prospecting. We have not neglected Santa Fe de Bogota or Medellin to protect the oil-producing areas.

What will be our strategy in 1993 and 1994? I will sum up in a few paragraphs what the Council of Ministers decided regarding the status of the state of internal disturbance. We have made efforts and implemented policies to protect simultaneously Cesar, Cauca, the Atlantic seaboard, and the rest of the national territory. We have allocated nearly 160 billion additional pesos to reinforce the Office of the Prosecutor General and the Public Force program, which I will now explain.

We will continue to increase the number of men in counterinsurgency operations. The number of professional soldiers will be increased by 6,000. The number of professional policemen will be increased by 4,000. This year, we will set up 100 new rural police garrisons as part of a three-year program that will cover 400 rural localities. In the cities, the number of policemen will be increased from 9,000 to 25,000 and a new military police battalion will be created in Medellin. We will continue to strengthen our intelligence service. Our plan calls for creating eight new intelligence networks. We will protect our oil infrastructure, which was seriously affected late

last year, so the wealth that belongs to everyone of us is not destroyed by the guerrillas.

May I make a comparison to illustrate how we are spending the country's money to solve the truly important problems? The resources allocated to the social sector have been increased fourfold from 1990 to 1993. The resources allocated to the administration of justice have been increased threefold. In 1990 we spent close to 370 billion pesos on the defense, intelligence, and security budget, at present we invest a little more than 1 trillion pesos.

Colombians: Every one of the victims of terrorism represents one part of Colombia. Each victim stands for the common citizen, student, worker, and businessman. We cannot shut our eyes and disregard those who have been killed by the cruel hand of violence. Those who fell represented the society's best values that unite us—life and freedom. They deserve to be recognized by the government and society. Each Colombian victim of terrorism is one more martyr toward the desired purpose of providing peace and tranquillity for Colombia. The government is deeply in debt to the victims of terrorism and will not stop seeking ways to ease the pain subjected by criminal minds. We will offer all of our support to those who sacrificed everything on behalf of democracy and freedom.

The best way to pay homage to the fallen is to realize the dream of a fatherland in peace by defeating terrorism. This dream cannot be achieved by the government alone. We will achieve it only when this struggle becomes one in which each and every one of Colombia's 30 million inhabitants fully commit themselves and when solidarity, which has already borne its first fruits, gives us the gift of a fair, prosperous, and peaceful fatherland. Good evening.

DAS To Deport Venezuelan Coupists

PA2402035993 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravisión
Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 1730 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Two Venezuelan Army members who participated in the attempted coup against Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez and who arrived clandestinely in Colombia will be deported to their country. The Administrative Department of Security [DAS], Narino-Putumayo regional directorate, issued a resolution on 23 February ordering the deportation of Venezuelan Colonel Higinio Alfredo Castro and Captain Jesus Oscar Navas Tortolero, who will appeal to the Colombian Government for political asylum:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] What lies ahead for you?

[First unidentified speaker] In the event we are deported, we are worried about our personal safety, which is not guaranteed. We do not know if we will have enough time to go to a jail or we will be brought to trial. Anything could happen.

[Second unidentified speaker] Please, I ask that someone from Amnesty International do something and help us because we are alone. [end recording]

Ecuador

President To Undergo Spinal Surgery

PA2402021393 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0047 GMT
24 Feb 93

[Text] Guayaquil, 23 Feb (EFE)—Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen will undergo surgery in the United States on 24 February for a spiral injury. Information Minister Carlos Vera made the announcement on 23 February.

Doctors who treated Duran-Ballen in Washington some days ago said the operation was not urgent, but it is necessary to end the discomfort caused by chronic pressure on the spinal cord.

Vera said the operation, which will last approximately four hours, involves minimal risk. He added that the president will have to spend five days in the hospital and an additional five days in the Washington area.

Vera said the president will then return to Ecuador to rest for 10 days before resuming his presidential duties.

Paraguay

President Denies Rumors of Military Junta

PY2402010593 Asuncion Radio Nacional del Paraguay
in Spanish 2200 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] When asked about the Colorado Party's internal situation, President Andres Rodriguez said it is up to the party authorities to find a solution to the conflict so the party can participate in the 9 May national elections, which, he reaffirmed, cannot be postponed.

Rodriguez said that in this regard he had asked Congress to postpone the date for registration of presidential hopefuls and for implementation of the lemas voting system to allow for broader participation in the elections.

The president also said that reports on the alleged establishment of a military junta as an alternative if the crisis worsens were unfounded rumors.

Rodriguez said: We are constantly stating that the national Constitution will be respected and the voters' decision will be respected no matter who may win the elections.

Moreover, President Rodriguez stated that soldiers are fully entitled to vote because this right is clearly established in the Constitution and the Electoral Code.

Opposition Leaders Say Lemas 'Unconstitutional'

PY2302200993 Asuncion Cerro Cora Sistema Nacional de Television Network in Spanish 1510 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] In a meeting this morning, opposition presidential candidates issued a statement on the lemas electoral proposal. In the statement, they described the proposal as unconstitutional.

Attending the meeting—which was held early this morning at the Gran Hotel del Paraguay—were Guillermo Caballero Vargas of the National Encounter Movement, Leandro Prieto Yegros of the Social Progressive Movement, Ricardo Canese of the Social and Democratic Accord [Concertacion Democratica y Social], Abraham Zapag of the National Alliance, and Joel Atilio Casal of the Broad Movement for National Participation. Domingo Laino, presidential candidate for the Authentic Radical Liberal Party, did not attend the meeting but signed the statement.

In response to allegations by Justice and Labor Minister Oscar Paciello, one of the drafters of the lemas electoral proposal, Caballero Vargas ruled out any possibility of a civil war:

[Begin Caballero Vargas recording] I believe it was just bravado. In short, I believe these people are just trying to scare us with saber rattling. I do not believe there will be a civil war or a coup d'etat. I believe, however, that an attempt is being made to violate the Constitution to suit the interests of a group. This can in no way be tolerated. [end recording]

For his part, Canese elaborated on the reasons why the lemas proposal is unconstitutional:

[Begin Canese recording] It is disquieting to see how the executive branch has lost face by submitting this type of proposal. I place my confidence in the members of Congress, unless they prove otherwise. We can ultimately resort to requesting that the Supreme Court declare the law unconstitutional. [end recording]

If Congress passes the lemas law, the presidential candidates will ask the Supreme Court to declare it unconstitutional and will organize a popular mobilization to protest the law.

Peru**Official on Modification of Terrorist Decree**

PA2302144593 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Report on interview with Roger Caceres Velasquez, chairman of the Democratic Constituent Congress,

CCD, Human Rights Commission by Eduardo Lindo Collantes at the CCD building in Lima; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] Roger Caceres Velasquez, chairman of the Democratic Constituent Congress [CCD] Human Rights Commission, stated he will ask the U.S. Government for information it has gathered regarding the human rights situation in Peru. The human rights situation has prevented the United States from becoming a member of the Support Group, which would give \$410 million in aid to Peru. Roger Caceres also said it is necessary to abolish Legislative Decree 25-475, which was issued by the government to fight terrorism.

[Begin recording] [Caceres] As chairman of the Human Rights Commission, I will ask the U.S. Embassy to contact the appropriate branch and request detailed information on the investigations carried out by the U.S. Government. This will allow us to take the necessary steps and overcome the U.S. Government's objections.

[Lindo] Has there been any improvement regarding the human rights situation in Peru during the past two years?

[Caceres] I do not think so. Legislative Decree 25-475, issued by this government to fight terrorism, is a masterpiece of oppression, disrespect, and disregard for human rights. This legislative decree must be modified substantially as must other decrees that have been issued to fight terrorism, because they allow the worst human rights violations under the pretext of fighting terrorism. We have seen this in many cases. [end recording]

Following the CCD plenary meeting, the CCD Directorate Board will analyze a motion presented by various minority group members to form a multiparty delegation that will travel to Washington. The multiparty delegation will meet with U.S. Government authorities and international financial institutions to discuss more flexible conditions. The delegation will also ask the IMF to declare Peru eligible for aid. [passage omitted]

CCD Ratifies Central Bank President

PA2402034993 Lima Radio Programas del Peru Network in Spanish 1700 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] The Democratic Constituent Congress [CCD] has ratified German Suarez Chavez as chairman of the Central Reserve Bank board of directors and Luis Cortavarria (Quegley) as superintendent of banks and insurance.

The CCD also confirmed Javier Gonzalez Terrones and Jose Arturo Montoya (Stuart) as Peru's ambassadors to Bolivia and Honduras, respectively.

Uruguay

Left Divided Over 'Legality' of Debt Payments

PY1902202893 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0654 GMT
19 Feb 93

[Report by Pepe Leira]

[Text] Montevideo, 19 Feb (EFE)—In view of Montevideo Mayor Tabare Vazquez' popularity, the Uruguayan left is divided over the strategy to be adopted for the next payment on the Uruguayan foreign debt. Most of the left is leaning toward the center as a result of Vazquez's position as a moderate socialist.

The classical slogans "Don't pay" or "The workers' blood and sweat are not meant for bankers" have been replaced by talks about the legality of cancelling the loans obtained abroad and making the transfer of funds to reduce the Uruguayan \$7 billion foreign debt less painful.

An internal document of the Broad Front coalition, which is the third Uruguayan political force, states that the country should continue paying the debt.

The left stopped mentioning the "illegality" of the debt, which had been contracted mostly during the military regime (1973-1984) when the debt increased from \$700 million to \$6.5 billion, and began to recognize that the loans obtained abroad were "legal."

Leftist Senator Danilo Astori, who is an economist, has become a defender of the need "to pay the debt." He declared that if the Broad Front becomes the ruling party, it "will not commit suicide" because "the foreign debt is legal and must be honored."

Many leaders believe that the coalition may be elected in 1994 after competing openly with the Colorado Party, now that President Luis Alberto Lacalle's Blanco Party has been continuously losing popularity. As a result, the Broad Front has begun a debate on how to adapt the traditional doctrine to this possibility.

The leaning toward the right, however, creates problems in view of the position adopted by the most radical groups, such as the former Tupamaro guerrillas and their allies.

While the most orthodox Marxist communists remain faithful to their principles and to the "Don't pay" slogan, the main labor federation, the Interunion Workers Plenum-National Workers Convention, asked President Lacalle to declare "a moratorium on the debt."

The proposal coincides with the attitude supported by the most radical members of the Broad Front, who want the renegotiation with the creditors to contemplate suspension—for three years—of any payment on the interest rates to analyze, during this period, the legitimacy of the debt's components.

These radical members also criticize the "renewers" and the so-called "light [preceding word in English] socialists" (light and inoffensive) an expression that synthesizes the feelings of the most orthodox members of the coalition.

Vazquez, who will probably be the presidential candidate of the left, is at the top of the wave of debates. The other members of the coalition, although in a position opposing his, demand from him clear definitions. Meanwhile, Vazquez' mayoralty signs contracts for millions of dollars with multinational companies which until recently were deemed "enemies" of the working classes, according to Uruguayan leftist theoreticians.

The last issue of the biweekly MATE AMARGO, which is the Tupamaros' mouthpiece, admits that Vazquez has been threatening to give up his presidential candidacy unless his moderate position is accepted.

The biweekly states: "It would not be a suitable attitude for someone who aspires to represent a front that is open to new broad spectrum alliances." The publication adds that such an attitude "does not harmonize with the attitudes a government should have, or with the attitudes of a statesman."

The Broad Front radical members concluded that the grassroots must be consulted and "internal elections" held to replace the natural leader Liber Seregni, who has reported that he will soon resign his position. Seregni has been the coalition president since its foundation on 26 March 1971.

It is clear that with popular support the radical members of the left want to stop Vazquez, and end his presidential expectations and hopes to give a more centrist overturn to the political and economic issues.

Guyana

President Cheddi Jagan Addresses Nation

FL2302182493 Bridgetown CANA in English 1444
GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] of President Cheddi B. Jagan's address to the nation at the ceremony marking the 23rd anniversary of the Republic at the National Park, Georgetown, on 22 February]

[Text] Georgetown, Guyana, February 23, 1993, Guyana Public Communications Agency—When Guyana became a republic on February 23, 1970, we made a significantly constitutional advance. We had become, albeit symbolically then, a sovereign nation.

It was a momentous occasion for those of us who pioneered the struggle for Guyana's independence against colonialism. But it was not a republic born in freedom. Our first election in the post-independence period had just been stolen, and the country was gripped in the clutches of despotic rule.

On that occasion I was bestowed the Republic's highest honour, the Order of Excellence (OE). But I refused to accept the award.

For me, a republic must be premised on genuine freedom for all of our people, and on the democratic values which we cherish and for which we fought. Those values were compromised and betrayed at the altar of self-interest.

It is for this reason that republicanism has been viewed with cynicism. Guyana was seen by many of her own people as a pseudo-republic and not a people's republic. That bred alienation and a pervasive lack of self-worth.

We lived through almost three decades of missed opportunities, and lost time. Devoid of a vision and a strategy for genuine republicanism, our leaders drifted and invested in experiments. The cooperative spirit eluded us. We became more dependent, more indebted, and almost bankrupt. We reaped harvests of frustrations and despair.

For us, the advance to a higher constitutional status should have content not just form. It should have activated our sense of commitment and patriotism, and enhanced our people's welfare. Instead, as one trade unionist observed, the people were catching hell and life became unbearable.

What was the content of republicanism when, as that union leader remarked: "Children were breadless, homes were riceless, and breadwinners could not buy even minimum quantities of essentials for their families".

What was the content of republicanism when, after twenty-two years, the CCWU union was forced to admit in its 1992 annual conference report that "declining incomes, high levels of unemployment, malnourished school children, poor housing, water, electricity and transportation problems have all contributed to the miserable way of life and plunged the nation among the poorest in the world."

But as I speak to you for the first time as president on the eve of our Republic anniversary, I can say that a new atmosphere of liberation abounds in Guyana. Despite the difficulties we inherited, there is hope. We have to retrace our footsteps; we have to walk the journey to freedom again. We will give our independence real meaning and emphasise independence day in all respects.

October 5, 1992, has liberated us. It has given us a chance for change and a chance to rebuild. October 5 laid the cornerstone upon which a republic is built - the foundations of an elected, representative and democratic government.

The restoration of democratic government through free and fair elections has opened the doors to economic development and the generous partnership of the world's democratic community of nations in our task of reconstruction. We have retrieved our respect, our dignity, and our self-esteem as a nation.

We are witnessing a revolution in government and in good governance. We are cutting the excesses, extravagance and corruption of the bureaucracies from top-down, and we are diverting resources to our people from bottom-up.

We have inherited a desperate situation, but we are cutting corners to trim the huge budget deficit, to bring debt-management under control, to plug tax-evasion loopholes, to bring down the cost of government and to make administration lean and efficient.

We regret government could not afford a more generous expenditure on mashramani celebrations. We count on the goodwill of the private sector and on the spontaneity of the masses to make this national festivity a success. And a success it will be, not only for coastlanders, but for our Amerindian people for whom this year's mash holds special honour and significance.

It is truly "mash spree in '93". It is a people's event free from the compulsion, the coercion, the victimisation that characterised past celebrations. We have smashed the chains of politicisation over mashramani.

This year we have decided to defer the conferral of national awards for a more appropriate occasion when we celebrate our independence anniversary. Our independence is rooted in a great tradition of struggle of oppressed peoples the world over, and linked us to the aspirations of our ancestral homes in the great continents of Asia and Africa.

Independence marked the continuity of the gains of our slave and indentured heroes like Cuffy, Accabre and Damon, and the Enmore martyrs. It is the culmination of the struggles and sacrifices of our united nationalist movement - the People's Progressive Party - which struck the first decisive blow for our freedom from colonialism forty years ago with its resounding victory at the 1953 elections.

I know that even as you prepare to join the holiday celebrations tomorrow and the days ahead, you are gripped by anxiety, soon the nation will be presented with a new budget. We are now fine-tuning the estimates and, as the finance minister intimated, we are cutting corners to meet the reasonable expectations for wage and salary increases.

Government is fully aware of the depressed levels of pay. But, as you are aware, we have inherited a very tight situation - a kind of straightjacket. The major impediment to our efforts at improving salary levels is our staggering national debt burden. To free ourselves from this debt-trap we need to rally all our forces as a united nation for debt relief and debt forgiveness.

In our quest for a better life, and even survival, the rich can wait. Our crusade must be for the poor, the deprived and the under-paid. We are taking innovative measures to reduce the debt payment burden.

Desperate though the situation is, we are mobilizing resources through conventional and extra-budgetary sources to top-up wages and to bring down the cost of living. My government remains true to its commitment that real wages will not decline, and that the rate of inflation will not outstrip the rate of wage increases.

By prudent planning and management, your government will enhance the level of wage increase for 1993 by about 100 per cent over and above that what was originally envisaged. At the end of our term in government, we expect wages in the public sector to match wages in the private sector.

Our emphasis is on food production and job creating investments. Our land must not only be a beautiful scenic landscape, but the land that must feed us. We are spending more on drainage and irrigation to enable us to put every inch of our cultivatable land under the plough. We have an insatiable market for food products, especially grains like rice.

We must immediately boost our export earnings by expanded industrial and agricultural production, and to infuse our financial system with more foreign exchange, more production machinery, and more consumer goods at affordable prices.

But we must do more. We have to improve our education system. Seven years from now we will enter a new century, and a highly competitive market will require that our children be prepared to learn in order to earn.

We are spending more on health care, on our senior citizens, and on making our streets and homes safe from bandits. The latter will require collective efforts at self-defence from our communities and from all our citizens so that we can create the climate of law and order and of law-abiding, peaceful society.

Guyanese abroad are now eager to invest in their homeland, while they prepare themselves to return. Many want to buy into the Guyana reconstruction bonds scheme. But those of us at home must also take initiatives. We must reactivate the self-help and cooperative drive for which historically our people are noted. We must join community development projects to change around our society from the bottom.

On this Republic anniversary, I wish to remind you of the exciting task of rebuilding Guyana and, as we celebrate, let us be invigorated by the patriotic song reverberating in our bosom since childhood: "Onwards, upwards may we ever go. Day by day, strength and beauty grow."

Let us re-commit our great and united nation to this noble mission of regaining strength and beauty a glorious future is opening up. We must all together become involved in the dynamic course that is being charted for development and social progress. Join the forward march. Let us proceed in unity for a prosperous guyana.

Long live the unity of our people. Long live the cooperative Republic of Guyana.

Suriname

Dutch Foreign Minister Urges Economic Overhaul
PM1902183293 Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 17 Feb 93 p 6

[Unnamed "own correspondent" report: "Minister Presses Venetiaan on Economic Cleanup"]

[Text] Paramaribo, 17 Feb—The Netherlands will only make money available for a Surinamese industry fund if the exchange rate of the Surinamese gilder is regulated. In the current situation the money would flow away through channels that would be impossible to control.

So said Netherlands Foreign Minister P. Kooijmans in Paramaribo yesterday after talks with President R. Venetiaan and National Assembly speaker J. Lachmon, among others. Kooijmans is in Suriname for a few days at the official invitation of the Surinamese Government.

The industry fund was discussed last year during the preparations for the Framework Agreement between the Netherlands and Suriname which regulates the development cooperation between the two countries. The payment of Netherlands aid to which Suriname has a right under the terms of the 1975 Independence Treaty was halted in 1982 in protest at the "December murders" of political opponents of the regime of army leader Bouterse.

The Framework Agreement, whose implementation must go hand in hand with an economic reorganization by the Surinamese authorities, also embraces a sum of 150 million guilders for a social program to protect the weakest in Surinamese society. Kooijmans said of this that the Netherlands "is ready to put the cash down" as soon as the Surinamese Government has drawn up a clear and fully costed program. At present the Surinamese Government is putting the finishing touches to a "safety net" for the socially disadvantaged and hopes to have it completed by the end of this month.

Kooijmans also voiced concern about the success of the cleanup of the Surinamese economy, because of the lack of trained personnel. He said that in his talks with the president and other politicians he had stressed the importance of reducing the budget deficit and introducing a new fixed exchange rate. The official rate of exchange is one to one, but the government is already working with an exchange rate of one to six and on the black market 20 Surinamese guilders are paid for one Dutch guilder.

Kooijmans also discussed human rights and the December murders with Venetiaan. According to Kooijmans, Venetiaan is keeping "the possibility of an investigation open," but stressed that at the present moment a "society is being created which is able to handle such an

investigation." Social stability enjoys priority over criminal investigation of the murders, seemed to be the deduction to be drawn from Venetiaan's words.

The precarious financial situation has made it necessary for the Surinamese authorities to stop with immediate effect the sale of foreign currency to travelers. This is

apparent from a report published today by the so-called Currency Committee in Paramaribo which has acted on the confidential instructions of the finance minister. Until next Tuesday [23 February] travelers have \$100 at their disposal. The measure means that citizens will no longer be able to buy foreign currency at the banks. In future they will only be able to do so on the black market.